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Westfield Massachusetts

and Its Historic Influences

1669-1919

Vol. II V.2

The Life of an Early Town

With a Survey of Events in New England and Bordering Regions to which it was related in Colonial and Revolutionary Times

By

REV. JOHN H. LOCKWOOD, D.D.

Pastor Emeritus of the First Congregational Church of Westfield, Massachusetts

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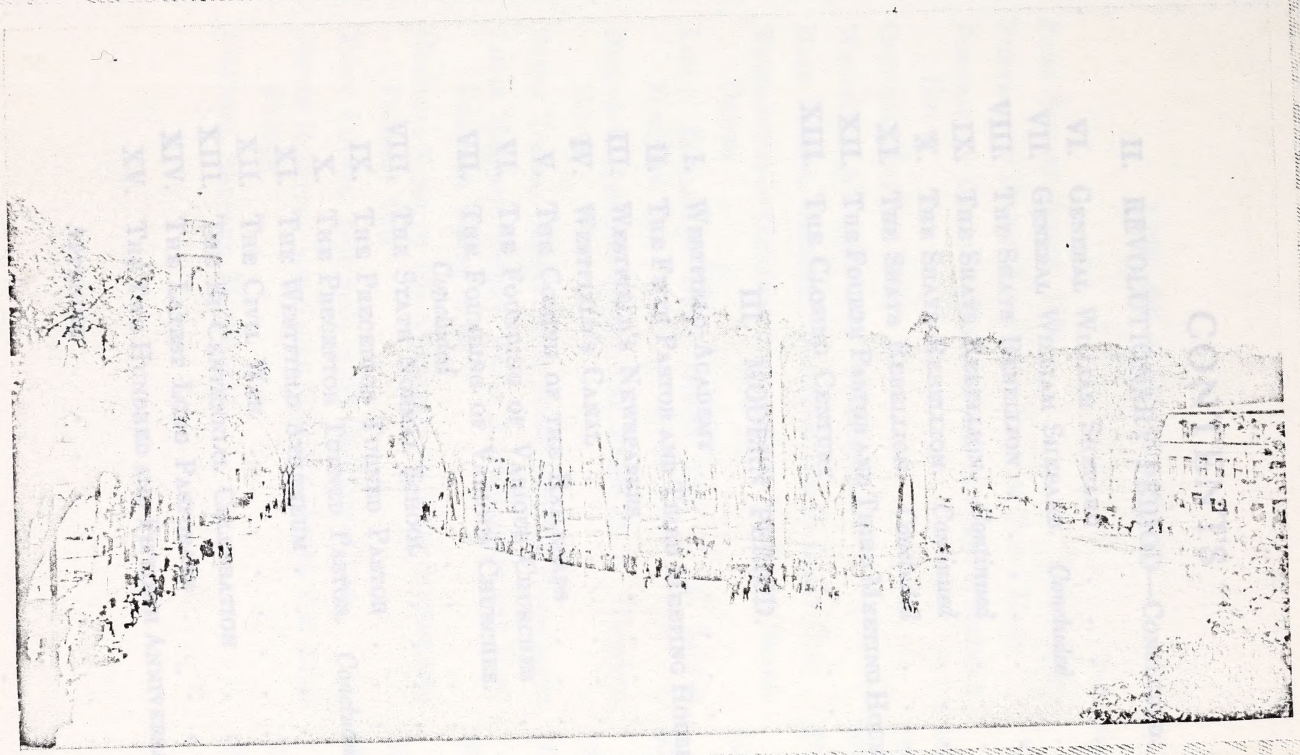

PARK SQUARE ABOUT 1900.

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Westfield
and Its Historic Influences

II
Revolutionary Period
Concluded

Errata

The following typographical errors have been noted:

"Digleton" for Dighton, p. 33, last line.
"Eazer" for Eager, p. 113, l. 34.
"Killam" for Killum, p. 127, l. 25.
"has" for have, p. 149, l. 21.

CHAPTER VI

Gen. William Shepard

Many years since, the author preached on the Sunday preceding Memorial Day to the Lyon Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, taking as his theme, The Town's Revolutionary Hero, Gen. William Shepard. The opening paragraphs of his sermon may be used fittingly in beginning this chapter on the same theme.

"The most important product of any country is its manhood. Whatever may be the harvests from its land, though its fields may have tropical fecundity; whatever may be dug from its mines, coal, iron, copper, silver, gold, or gems; whatever may be the output of its factories in metals or textiles; whatever the profits from the sagacity of its merchants and bankers,—the men that it produces outrank them all."

The manhood which Westfield has produced during the two and a half centuries of its civic life is of such a quality as to do high honor to the town within whose borders the whole or an important part of their lives was spent. Though for so long a frontier settlement, Westfield early nourished within its citizenship men of character and influence, recognized with respect and esteem far beyond its narrow bounds. In the long series of honorable and noble citizens who have been glad to cherish it as their home, it is making no invidious distinction to declare that, all things considered, the most illustrious is William Shepard, soldier, statesman and churchman. His versatile abilities gave him eminence in each of these spheres, and his habitual conduct of affairs in each of them secured him universal respect. Under the burdens and tests of life in field and camp, in legislative halls, and as a private citizen, bearing civic responsibilities, enduring taunt, indignity and poverty, his character was as free from taint as was that of Washington, his friend and commander. From extreme youth when his military career began, to extreme age when still sturdy in body, mind and spirit, he merited and held the

respect and honor of those whose estimates were worth considering.

This first citizen in Westfield's history up to the present era was born in one of its humble homes on Sunday, Dec. 1, 1737. His Father, John Shepard, a tanner by trade, was born there. His Grandfather, John Shepard, born in Wetheringset, Suffolk county, England, in 1671, the year in which Rev. Edward Taylor began his ministry, settled in Westfield in 1695. He was descended from John Shepard of Mendlesham, Suffolk county, England (1550). John Shepard, Jr., married Elizabeth Noble, May 20, 1731. She was the daughter of Deacon Thomas Noble who was the son of Thomas the settler who came to Westfield as early as Jan. 21, 1669.

They had nine children, of whom William was the fourth, seven sons and two daughters. The Revolutionary record of the family is remarkable. Under the eldest son, John, as Lieutenant, the Westfield company of minute men marched at the Lexington alarm. The youngest son, Gideon, then twenty years old, was a sergeant in that company. David, two years older, a graduate of Yale in 1766, was Captain in Colonel Seth Pomeroy's regiment which marched at the same time, and later Surgeon in Col. Danielson's regiment. William was Lieut. Col. in Col. Timothy Danielson's regiment of minute men. The other two sons who reached young manhood, one besides having died in infancy, Silas and Enoch, are listed among those who served at some period during the war. There certainly was fighting blood in that family. A member of the next generation is also found enrolled, the General's oldest son, William, who was an ensign in the regiment of his Father, from Jan. 1, 1781, to Nov., 1783.

William's education was meager, such as could be gained in the schools of the town in the middle of the eighteenth century, and was concluded when he was only seventeen years old by his enlistment as a private soldier. That was in 1754 at the outbreak of the Seven Years War, the last of that long series of conflicts with the savages and their French allies which distressed the Colonists during many periods for nearly a century. After two years of service he was made a sergeant in Capt. Jonathan Ball's company of Col. Wm. Williams's regiment, and marched with the Provincial troops to Canada.

In 1759, from March 31 to Dec. 1, he was a lieutenant in Capt. John Bancroft's company under Abercrombie, and took part in the disastrous attack on Fort Ticonderoga when the imbecility and obstinacy of the General, who insisted on assaulting a fortification at the point of the bayonet without artillery, resulted in a terrible slaughter of the patriots.

Parkman says of it: "The scene was frightful: masses of infuriated men who could not go forward and would not go back; straining for an enemy they could not reach, and firing on an enemy they could not see; caught in the entanglement of fallen trees; tripped by briers, stumbling over logs, tearing through bogs; shouting, yelling, cursing, and pelted all the while with bullets that killed them by scores, stretched them on the ground, or hung them on jagged branches in strange attitudes of death. The provincials supported the regulars with spirit, and some of them forced their way to the foot of the wooden wall." (Montcalm and Wolfe. Vol. II, p. 110.)

A year later Shepard was promoted to a captaincy and served under Amherst in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Isle-aux-Noix and Montreal. He must have been with Wolfe to share the brilliant victory at Quebec which gave final triumph to the English and broke forever the power of France in the new world.

It would be most interesting to be able to trace with some degree of clearness the personal experiences of our young hero amid the tragic incidents of his successive campaigns in that long war, but we can get only an occasional glimpse of him, and even that in no very satisfactory way.

It amounts to little to learn that on July 1, 1758, "Gen. Rufus Putnam gave orders that Captain Shepard's company are to fire their pieces from 3 to 5 this p.m.," since we know not for what purpose the powder was expended in what seems to have been so reckless a fashion. References to him in the later war are scarcely less meager and disappointing. We know much of the great movements in which he was an important actor, but, with a few exceptions, not definitely just what his special part was therein.

The following is a copy of a document in possession of

W. F. Adams, President of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society:

"To Harrison Gray Esq. Treasr & Receivor General of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

Sr.

These Desire You to Deliver the Money Due to me the Subscriber for My Service in the Last Campain Under Capt Wm Shepard according to his Muster Roll—Unto Mr Samuel Colton of Springfield or his Ordr So youl oblige Your Servt.

Frances Baxter

"Springfield March 14th 1763."

At the close of hostilities, Captain Shepard returned home after an unbroken absence of four years, having completed six years of active service though then not quite 23 years old. In reference to this period of early heroism, the Rev. Isaac Knapp in his funeral sermon for the dead General says:

"The hardships and dangers of these campaigns cannot be understood without reading a history of that war. He had to pass through extensive tracts of wilderness, many of his companions in arms were overpowered with fatigue and pined away with sickness; many of them fell victims to savage ambuscades, and many were slain before the fortresses of the enemy. In these trying scenes he was distinguished by his hardihood, intrepidity, and perseverance. He never shrunk from the post of danger. But his valuable life was preserved for future usefulness."

He fulfilled one very important condition of that useful career, immediately after resuming life back in the old home, by marrying Miss Sarah Dewey, Jan. 31, 1760, and establishing his own family hearthstone. What minor civil offices he may have held during several ensuing years cannot be ascertained, since the town records for that period are lost. The first record of such action that is preserved indicates the election of Capt. William Shepard as Selectman, March 11, 1774. In February of the following year he was chosen on a committee to look up arms for the minute men, and at the same time chosen as the first Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, and "to carry into execution the Resolves of the Grand Provincial Congress." Though experienced in military affairs,

he was still one of the young men surrounded by men older and far more experienced than himself in the conduct of civil affairs.

A sensational incident of those years midway between the French and the Revolutionary wars is related in the report to the Massachusetts Board of Commissioners in April, 1769, cited in an article which appeared some years since in a newspaper sketch of Gen. Shepard.

He was in Philadelphia on business for a few days. The collector of the port had seized 50 pipes of Madeira wine found in the store of one Andrew Hodge. Captain Shepard, known to have had experience as an officer, was called upon to assist the militia in protecting the wine from a mob intent upon getting possession of it. Shepard was written to by one of the ringleaders threatening him with death for daring to act with the militia. His friends warned him not to appear on the streets, but taking a brace of pistols he said that he would go out just for the sake of showing that he was not to be intimidated. On a Sunday night two ruffians waylaid him near his lodgings. One struck him in the abdomen to knock out his wind, while the other tried to stab him in the eye, but missed his aim and cut a gash in his nose. Shepard reaching into his right hand pocket cocked a pistol and fired it through his clothes, which so terrified the villains that they fled precipitately. After that Shepard could find no one who dared to entertain him, and saying that he would not stay in a city where they would be glad to bury him, he returned to his Massachusetts home. But he told the Board of Commissioners that though he should lose his life thereby he would return to Philadelphia if it would be most for his Majesty's service. It was a man of such loyalty who became estranged from his allegiance by the stupid tyranny of the English King.

The period became rapidly electric with premonition of great events which were to shake to the center the Colonies and the mother country oversea, to change the currents of history, and to usher in a new era of liberty and development. The youthful but rapidly maturing giant on this continent, defying the tyranny of the Old World government, was to receive the baptism of blood and fire which should mark its entrance upon distinct national life.

Captain Shepard was elected a second time as Selectman in March, 1775. Soon afterward he was appointed on a Committee to spend £25 which the town had voted "to procure powder & warlike stores," only nine days before they were disbursed among the minute men eager to rush to the seat of war. His pastor says of him at this critical epoch, "His opinions and his feelings were strongly inlisted against the oppresive claims of Great Britain. He saw that the American Colonies, feeble as they then were, must either defend themselves or sink down in slavery. His military talents were known and his country called him to her aid. His native state had become the seat of war and its Capital was in the hands of the enemy. In the year 1775 he accepted the office of Lieutenant Colonel and repaired to the camp at Roxbury, where he continued under the command and near to the person of Washington till the British retired from Boston."

Though he was not enrolled with the Westfield company, he was one of the heroes who started at the first alarm. The state records show that he was "Lieutenant Colonel in Col. Timothy Danielson's Reg. of Minute-men, engaged April 20, 1775, service four days on the alarm Apr. 19, 1775."

From that time he served through the long and exhausting war. May 27 following, it was ordered that the officers of that regiment be commissioned, thereby bringing them more formally into the Continental service.

In General Orders, Camp before Boston, July 22, 1775, five weeks after Bunker Hill and three weeks after Washington had taken command, Col. Danielson's regiment was assigned to the first brigade under Brigadier General Thomas, which with another one of five regiments was to form one of the three Grand Divisions of the besieging army. This one was to remain at Roxbury and its southern dependencies under Major General Ward. The General Orders for the next day from Headquarters, Cambridge, deploring the fact that the Continental Army had no uniforms and there being need to distinguish officers of the different grades, it was declared desirable that distinctive badges should be immediately provided, suggesting for the field officers red or pink cockades in their hats, for the captains yellow or buff, and for the subalterns green.

During the period which followed until the evacuation of Boston by the British, March 17, 1776, the besieging troops learned much by experience which was needful for their future usefulness.

Soon afterward our hero accompanied the army to New York.

General Heath records, July 9, 1776, in camp at New York, "At evening roll call, the declaration of the Congress, declaring the United Colonies FREE, SOVEREIGN, AND INDEPENDENT STATES, was published at the head of the respective brigades in camp and received with loud huzzas."

Then it was that Colonel Shepard heard for the first time that immortal document, America's clarion note of liberty, which was to ring out to all the earth through succeeding centuries. That night the leaden statue of George III on Bowling Green was melted, broken and run into bullets.

"July 12th. Two British ships of war, the *Phenix* and *Rose*, and three tenders, at about 4 o'clock P.M. taking advantage of the tide and a fresh breeze, came up from the fleet and passed the city up the Hudson. A brisk cannonade took place from Red Hook, Governor's Island, Paulus Hook and all the batteries on the North River side. The ships were several times struck by the shot, but received no material damage. The ships returned the fire as they passed the batteries: and the encampment of our General's brigade (the right flank of which being Col. Shepard's regiment) was on the bank of the river. The tents were struck, and dropped on the ground, before the ships came abreast of them. Several shots fell on the encampment, and one entered the embrasure of a small redoubt on the flank of the encampment, and struck in the banquette on the opposite side of the redoubt between the legs of two soldiers, but did no damage. Several American artillerists were killed by the bursting of our own cannon. The ships ran up nearly to Tappan Bay and came to anchor." (Heath's Memoirs, pp. 41–2.)

After the disastrous battle of Long Island, where 9,000 raw continental troops were virtually surrounded by 20,000 British and Hessian regulars, seasoned, disciplined, well-equipped soldiers whose profession was fighting, Colonel

Shepard shared the hazard and the glory of rescuing the imperiled army from its desperate condition. It was the first move of the great Commander in Chief in that masterly series of retreats which entitled Washington to the name of the American Fabius, and was a necessary makeshift in the execution of his plans which resulted in final triumph.

In the face of an immensely superior force he succeeded in ferrying his whole force, with all his arms, cannon, ammunition, baggage and provisions, across the East River with such complete success that a historian declares that when at daylight the British outposts rushed into the deserted works, "they did not find so much as a biscuit or a glass of rum wherewith to console themselves."

A little later, September 15, the plan of evacuating New York having been decided upon, the bulk of the army having retired to Harlem Heights, Lieut. Col. Shepard was with the rear guard of Continentals left along the East River front to harass the British when landing and to protect their own retreating forces.

The Battle of Harlem Heights, or Plains, since it bears both names, was of immensely greater significance than appears to a cursory student of its incidents.

In the historic record of the Forty-Second Highlanders, part of the British force engaged, it is dismissed with the slighting comment, "this being only an affair of outposts, no detailed account of it was given, but it was a well contested action."

To the careful student of history, however, it ranks high in the annals of the early Revolutionary struggle on several broad grounds. The British had begun a movement which was maintained more or less continuously until the Battle of Saratoga finally foiled it. The fundamental British purpose was to capture and hold the valley of the Hudson and cut off New England from the rest of the Colonies. The capture of New York was the first step in the effort to annihilate Washington's army. The landing at Kip's Bay was followed by a disgraceful and panic-stricken rout of the American outposts. The disastrous defeat of Long Island occurred August 27. The landing at Kip's Bay was effected September 15. It was only a day later that the gallantry of the American forces,

some of whom had fled in craven fear on the 15th, put a new phase on the great struggle. They not only held their ground before seasoned British troops, but they also forced them to retreat in open conflict, and even drove them from sheltering fences. Not only was Washington's army neither routed nor captured, it was also inspired with new courage and sustained with self-respect never before experienced.

In his magnificent address delivered at the Centennial celebration of the battle, the Hon. John Jay, orator of the day, says: "Remembering the subsequent events of the war, we see how completely those events confirm the judgment of the importance of that day in restoring to the American army confidence and self-respect, in compelling the soldierly regard of their brave opponents, and in inducing on the part of the British commander that caution and dilatory policy which accorded with our plans and contributed to our success. Excellent as was the material of the English army, Washington's hasty levies were composed of men in no whit inferior, save in training, discipline, and equipment, for which time and opportunity were essential."

Lord Chatham pronounced the army of Sir William Howe, "the best appointed army that ever took the field." It was a portion of that army which at Harlem Plains was for the first time driven three successive times before the Colonial volunteers. Continentals had withstood heroically the assault at Bunker Hill, but had been forced to retreat finally when their ammunition became exhausted; they had compelled the evacuation of Boston by occupying a commanding height, but here they drove the enemy back to the main body and protecting defenses.

The moral effect produced was a prelude of that which followed the sturdy defense of Pell's Point a month later, when though finally forced to retreat by being overwhelmingly outnumbered, they braved, and for hours successfully resisted, the assault of vastly superior forces.

Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., in his masterly and judicial study of the Revolution, sums up his account of the battle of Harlem as follows: "Howe claimed the affair as a success; but his best officers thought differently. Sir Henry Clinton, long afterwards, recorded his view in a note on the

margin of Stedman's History. 'The ungovernable impetuosity' (he wrote) 'of the light troops drew us into this scrape.' Colonel von Donop, a very gallant man, and no boaster, reported that if it had not been for the opportune arrival of his Jagers, the Highlanders and the British Light Infantry would perhaps have been captured. * * * Washington, in measured and tranquil language, imparted the relief and satisfaction which filled his own mind, to the pleased and repentant army. 'The behaviour of yesterday' (so ran his General Order of September 17) 'was such a contrast to that of some troops the day before as must show what can be done where officers and soldiers exert themselves.' And so it comes about that Haerlem, though not among the decisive, and still less the gigantic, battles of the world, has always been fondly regarded by American writers as a turning point in the uphill progress of their national military efficiency." (The American Revolution, Part II, Vol. I, pp. 303–4.)

Having served thus under Washington for more than a year at Roxbury and in the vicinity of Boston while it was under siege, and later about New York, the relations between them seem to have been such as to justify the young officer in making a personal appeal for promotion. The regiment to which he had been transferred having been left for some months without a Colonel, he wrote to the Commander in Chief, saying that the failure to appoint him, as Lieut. Colonel, to the vacant position, was either a case of neglect or else a proof that he was not considered competent to fill it. The reply was immediate.

"Harlem Heights, 6th Oct. 1776.

"Sir: In consequence of my promise to you at Bergen I laid your case before Congress by the next Post and have the pleasure to Inclose to you a Commission as Colo. of the Regiment late Colonel Learned's, and after wishing you joy of it, shall assure you that

I am Sir

Yr Most obedt. Serv

Go. Washington."

His original commission hangs now in a frame on the wall of the Westfield Atheneum.

"In Congress.

"The Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia. To

William Shepard, Esquire

We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be

Colonel Vice Colonel Leanard Resigned

in the Army of the United States, raised for the Defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Colonel by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto, belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command to be obedient to your orders as Colonel. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United States, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

Dated at Philadelphia October 2d. 1776.

By order of the Congress,

"To Chas. Thomson Secy. John Hancock, President."

That is the commission to which Washington refers as inclosed in his letter which hangs in a separate frame by its side in the Atheneum, two documents of priceless value.

It has been conjectured that John Adams used his potent influence in Shepard's behalf. In a letter to Samuel H. Parsons, Adams says: "Philadelphia, 19 August 1776 I thank you for your observations upon certain field officers, Patterson, Shepard and Brooks make the best figure, I think, upon paper," but then he spoke of having no personal acquaintance with any one of them.

Whether or not Adams, having become fully informed about him, made any serious effort in his behalf, the greater influence and authority of the Commander in Chief seems to have been amply sufficient to constrain Congress to prompt and favorable action which was fully justified by the long career of able and devoted service which followed. It was indeed only a fortnight after his appointment that he played a conspicuous part in one of the most notable and brilliant engagements of the war, though strangely ignored and underrated by the historians. It was a sequence of the disaster of the battle of Long Island, and, with the masterly retreat which followed and the victory of Harlem Heights, did much to retrieve it. The men who by their early training and experience as sailors fulfilled the difficult and desperate conditions of that retreat through the fog by manning the boats which carried the army, its equipment and baggage safely across the East River, were valuable factors in the battle of Pell's Point.

For a painstaking investigation of that important engagement and its uplift from the obscurity in which it had been left for a century and a quarter to its deserved place in the great drama of Revolutionary events, the country is under a great debt of obligation to Mr. William Abbott of New York, editor of the Magazine of History, etc. This debt is specially shared by friends and admirers of General Shepard who rendered such distinguished service in that battle.

It was in 1901 that Mr. Abbott published the results of his researches in an interesting and illuminating monograph abundantly illustrated with a map of the region, pictures of important scenes, and portraits of several officers and a private, John Russell of Glover's regiment, who fought later at Trenton and whose lifesize figure, the face taken from life, adorns the Trenton battle monument.

Beginning his preface, Mr. Abbott says: "In the official record of services of two regiments of the British Army, the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Lancers, it is stated that they were engaged in the battle of 'Pelham Moor.' Yet though this encounter is thought worthy of mention side by side with Waterloo and others of world-renown, few of our own histories contain any details of it, and one of the most popular gives it

only three lines in which are two serious errors. Examination of all the authorities, and personal familiarity with the scene and topography of lower Westchester county, leads me to consider it one of the most important conflicts of the earlier part of the Revolution."

A sketch of what Abbott gives in detail may suffice to indicate the heroism of Colonel Shepard and his command as participants in the battle which occupied the larger part of a day though the actual fighting was intermittent.

While Washington, in the autumn of 1776, was drawing his army back from New York City to Westchester county, hampered in moving artillery and supplies by lack of draught horses, his line was necessarily so extended as to open it to attack and disaster. Lord Howe, leaving two thousand troops on Manhattan Island under Lord Percy, embarked the main part of his army and sailed for Throgg's Neck about thirteen miles up Long Island Sound, apparently hoping to get into the rear of the Americans and involve them between two fires.

Repulsed there, after lying idle several days, on the 18th of October, at one o'clock in the morning, with part of his command he embarked again and crossed to Pell's Point in the town of Pelham, a few miles north.

Col. John Glover was posted there with his "amphibious" regiment which helped to make up his brigade of four skeleton regiments, the 14th, his own; Joseph Read's, the 13th; Shepard's (late Learned's), the 3d, and Loammi Baldwin's, the 26th, less than a thousand men in all. The privates fit for duty in Colonel Shepard's regiment according to returns Oct. 5th numbered but 204.

It was this small force which had to withstand repeated attacks of more than four times their number, well drilled, well disciplined, and well equipped regulars, British and Hessian.

Very early on that morning of Oct. 18, Colonel Glover with commendable vigilance began his search for the enemy. In his letter to an unnamed person in New Hampshire which is our chief dependence for information respecting what transpired on that momentous day, he writes, "I went on the hill with my glass and discovered a number of ships in the Sound

under way [and] the small boats, upwards of two hundred, all manned [filled with troops]."

Glover hastened to send Major Lee of his regiment to report to Gen. Charles Lee, about three miles distant, who was then next in command to Washington. Lee seems to have ignored the message, since he did not come to the scene of action and apparently sent no orders. Glover exclaims, "I would have given a thousand worlds to have had General Lee, or some other experienced officer present, to direct or at least approve."

Left thus to himself he acted with promptness, fortitude and sagacity. Considering the mere handful of men which he had to oppose to the immensely greater force of the enemy, he could hardly have been censured had he fallen back before its advance until he could get into communication with some supporting body. Instead of following that more prudent course, he proceeded to arrange the force which he commanded in a way to make the most stubborn possible resistance.

On the road running from Pell's Point, now called Rodman's Point, at the end of which the British landed, toward Pelham and the present city of Mount Vernon, he posted the four skeleton regiments. Glover states clearly in his account that Colonel Read's regiment was located in the most advanced position on the east side of the road. Shepard's came next on the west side, somewhat to the rear, and Baldwin's was still farther in the rear on the same side of the road as Read's. Glover's own regiment was located some distance to the west as a rear guard and was not directly engaged. A captain with forty men had been sent forward to hold the enemy in check while the above disposition was being made. Back on a hill he had left his three cannon because of difficulty of transportation.

It was at what has since been known as Glover's Rock, a great glacial boulder twelve feet high, that the advanced guard first met the enemy and at the short range of fifty yards five rounds were exchanged. Two of the Massachusetts men were killed and several were wounded. The British having been reinforced, Glover ordered his forces to fall back, "which was masterly well done," he says, the enemy being only about a hundred feet distant. The ground thus ap-

parently cleared, the British advanced with a cheer to within thirty yards of a stone wall from behind which a volley was poured into their solid column. Instead of charging over the wall as Read and his men expected to have them, they fell back upon the main body some distance to the rear leaving their dead and wounded. An hour and a half later the attack was renewed, the whole force of four thousand men advancing, covered with a steady fire of seven cannon. When fifty yards distant they receive another volley from Read's men, who continued firing until seven rounds have been exchanged. Read then retreated to the line of Shepard's men behind the stone wall on the other side of the road, affording them a chance to give the British their second startling surprise of the day. From their unsuspected covert Shepard's regiment poured in a deadly fire, and then ensued the fiercest engagement of the day. It was Bunker Hill over again, Provincials behind fences, holding in check a vastly superior force of the best European regulars. "A long-continued and well-sustained fire was kept up on each side," the British and Hessians determined to continue their advance, and the Massachusetts men equally determined to resist it.

Glover says that the fire of the patriots was constant until they had discharged seventeen rounds, proving steady work for at least an hour. He adds, "The enemy's line was broken several times, and once in particular so far that a soldier of Shepard's leaped over the wall and took a hat and a canteen from a captain that lay dead on the ground that they had retreated from." The odds were too great to warrant a farther continuance of the conflict there. Glover ordered the two regiments to fall back, and after Colonel Baldwin's men had fired a volley, Glover perceiving that the ground was unfavorable for defense, and that the enemy's artillery was growing more effective, ordered a retreat, which was conducted in good order, picking up his own regiment and covering the movement with his three cannon. They encamped for the night within the present limits of Mount Vernon and the next morning passed on to Yonkers. Howe made no effort to follow them.

Abbott says, "As Glover's regiment had no part in the battle, and Baldwin's had a slight one, the chief participants

were Read's and Shepard's, about four hundred against ten times their number of better armed, better trained, better supplied troops, having artillery."

Glover affords crowning proof of the enduring heroism of that day when writing, "At dark we came off, and marched about three miles leading to Dobbs Ferry. After fighting all day without victuals or drink, lying as a picket all night, the heavens over us and the earth under us, which was all we had, having left our baggage at the old encampment we left in the morning." He adds, "The next morning marched to Mile Square. I had eight men killed and thirteen wounded, among which was Colonel Shepard, a brave officer." (Col. Glover's letter may be found in the American Archives, 5th series, Vol. II.)

The great loss of the enemy was among the Hessians, which was officially reported, not to the British war office, but to their German masters. The testimony of deserters who kept coming into the American camp for several days, and were there individually questioned in private, was to the effect that Howe's total loss was from 800 to 1,000. At Bunker Hill it was 1,054; at Saratoga, the first day, 500; at Germantown, 535; Jackson's loss at the battle of New Orleans (1815), behind breastworks of cotton bales, was but 13, while that of the British was about 2,000. Both Washington and Lee in formal orders congratulated most enthusiastically Glover and the men of his command.

Fortunately the whole extent of the battlefield of that day, including Pell's Point, is now embraced in Pelham Bay Park, which is in the northeast corner of Greater New York.

An incident which has been handed down in Westfield from Revolutionary days illustrates the pluck and heroism of Colonel Shepard. While the surgeon was examining the serious wound in his neck the doughty patriot called for his canteen and finding that a long draught of rum flowed freely down his throat he said, "It is all right, doctor, stick on a plaster. I am going out again." And tying on his cravat, he returned to the firing line. According to another story, the doctor said, "An inch more and the ball would have killed you, colonel." "Yes, and an inch more and it wouldn't have touched me," he replied.

Abbott quotes from an eyewitness of the battle of Pell's

Point, whose letter was published in the Freeman's Journal, Portsmouth, N. H., and dated "Mile Square, Nov. 12": "People may think what they please of the 'regular and spirited behaviour' of the British troops, but I that day was an eye-witness to the contrary. I saw as great irregularity almost, as in a militia; they would come out from the body and fire single guns. Had we been reinforced with half their number, we might have totally defeated them." (The Battle of Pell's Point, Pelham, p. 15, note.)

Washington's appreciation of the valor there shown is thus expressed:

"Head-Quarters, October 21, 1776.
General Orders.

"The Hurried situation of the Genl. the two last days having prevented him from paying that attention to Col. Glover and the officers and soldiers who were with him in the skirmish on Friday last their Merit & Good Behaviour deserved, he flatters himself that his thanks tho' delayed will nevertheless be acceptable to them as they are offered with great sincerity and cordiality.

"At the same time he hopes that every other part of the Army will do their Duty with equal Bravery & Zeal whenever called upon, and neither Dangers nor Difficulties nor Hardships will discourage Soldiers engaged in the Cause of Liberty and while we are contending for all that Freemen hold dear & Valuable."

After a few weeks of convalescence Colonel Shepard was able to resume command of his regiment, and late in November with the rest of Lee's division joined Washington and accompanied him in his retreat through the Jerseys when every day seemed marked by deepening gloom until that eventful Christmas night when he crossed the Delaware, being again indebted to the "amphibious regiment" for escape from the perils of the passage among the ice floes. By four o'clock on that winter morning the eager troops formed on the farther bank, with Glover's brigade in the van. His son, Capt. John Glover, having made the appalling discovery that the storm had rendered many of their guns temporarily useless, reported the matter to Washington. The redoubtable commander,

tired of imitating Fabius, replied, "Advance and *charge*," as recorded in Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 128.

Stryker, in his Battles of Trenton and Princeton, enumerates in Glover's brigade, the third regiment of Continental foot, commanded by Colonel William Shepard. It is interesting to learn that in that momentous engagement it consisted of 22 commissioned officers, and 195 enlisted men present; 318 men absent sick, on extra duty, or on furlough.

That successful move, and the no less brilliant maneuvers following, when Washington left his camp fires burning in front of the army which Cornwallis had gathered against him, while he made a rapid march with his troops and descended like a tornado upon Princeton, produced a tremendous effect. It startled Europe and America into recognition of the fact that the Continental army was under the leadership of a great General. It wrought an improvement in the general aspect and condition of Continental affairs which can hardly be overestimated. It filled patriots, both soldiers and civilians, with a spirit of cheer, confidence and hope that they had not known for many a day. Washington's retreats, which Colonel Shepard had heroically shared, proved disguised successes. After the affair at Princeton the British retired to New York, while the Americans went into winter quarters, with headquarters on the heights of Morristown, the right wing under Putnam at Princeton, the left, under Heath, on the Hudson, in which was Colonel Shepard's regiment.

During the spring and summer following, the British campaign was in gradual process of execution, whereby three several armies, one under Burgoyne coming from Canada by way of Ticonderoga, another under St. Leger coming by way of Oswego and the Mohawk valley, a third under Clinton coming from New York up the Hudson, should form a junction at Albany, thus completely cutting off New England from the rest of the Colonies. It was a magnificent scheme which resulted in ignominious failure.

Glover, who had recently been made a brigadier general, writing from Peekskill, July 23, 1777, tells Gen. George Clinton that Washington had ordered him with his brigade to reinforce General Schuyler. The brigade sailed for Albany four days later.

Early in August they were at Van Schaick's Island in the Hudson, at the mouth of the Mohawk, opposite Lansingburg just above Troy. There are still traceable remains there of General Schuyler's fortifications. From there Glover wrote on August 22, to Maj. Gen. Schuyler at Albany, thanking him for a gift of "wine, pipes, tobacco and butter, all of which is very acceptable, being quite destitute of these articles." It is to be hoped the Colonel Shepard was not too abstemious to enjoy a fair share of any one of these articles when necessarily deprived so much of the time of commonplace necessities. Writing again from the same place, September 5, Glover speaks of the arrival of reinforcements under Arnold and Morgan, and adds, "Gen. Gates commands the Center Division which is composed of Nixon's (who is sick at Albany), Glover's and Patterson's brigades."

The description which Glover gives in a letter from "Camp 3 m. above Stillwater, Sep. 21st, 1777," of the part taken by his brigade in the important engagement of Bemis Heights, or more strictly the first battle of Freeman's Farm, September 19, affords some idea of the experiences which Colonel Shepard shared, justifying its quotation in full.

"I have just time to inform you that the 18th inst. we marched out with 3000 men to attack the enemy, who were encamped on the Heights about 2 miles from us; we found it not practicable as they had taken an advantageous post: however we drew up in line in full view of them, with a design to draw them out & there tarried till dark without doing anything further. The next day (the 19th) sent out large scouting parties, some of which fell in with those of the enemy. A brisk firing came on: this happened about 1 o'clock. We re-enforced till we had about 3000 engaged. The enemy re-enforced till they brought their whole force into action, consisting of 7000, Gen. Burgoyne at their head, who was wounded through the shoulder. [a mistake]

"The battle was very hot till ½ past 2 o'clock; ceased about half an hour, then renewed the attack. Both armies seemed determined to conquer or die, when by consent of both parties it ceased. During which time we several times drove them, took the ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded. Took one field piece, but the woods and

bush was so thick, & being close pushed by another party of the enemy coming up, was obliged to give up our prize. The enemy in their turn sometimes drove us. They were bold, intrepid, and fought like heroes, and I do assure you, Sirs, our men were equally bold and courageous & fought like men fighting for their all."

Had Colonel Shepard himself left an account of the battle it could not have afforded a more intimate picture of his experience on that eventful day.

In the second battle of Freeman's farm, fought October 7, which with the former constitute what is commonly known as the battle of Saratoga, the right wing was under General Lincoln, held by him in reserve, but a part of Glover's brigade had the privilege of sharing the furious assault under Arnold, at the end of which, when crowned with victory, that superb fighter was shot through the leg which had been wounded at Quebec, fracturing the bone just above the knee. Burgoyne's fate was sealed, but in following up his retreat toward old Saratoga, later known as Schuylerville, the Americans narrowly escaped disaster. It was supposed that Burgoyne had hurried with his main body to Fort Edward, and he encouraged the belief that such was the fact. Gates ordered an advance across Fish Creek, a small stream emptying into the Hudson, expecting to be opposed only by the rear guard of the retreating enemy. Nixon's brigade had already crossed, and Glover had begun to follow, when he saw a British soldier in the creek who claimed to be a deserter. Glover questioned him about Burgoyne's army, asking whether it had not passed on to Fort Edward. The deserter told him that only a small detachment had gone thither and finding the way blocked by Americans had returned. Word of his danger was sent to Nixon, and the true state of affairs was reported to Gates, who countermanded the order to advance, thereby saving the two brigades and perhaps the whole army from disaster.

The last hope of Burgoyne was thus shattered, and he surrendered his army of 5791 men on October 17. Colonel Shepard must have felicitated himself upon the good fortune of being thus detailed from the defense of the lower Hudson with what Bancroft calls "an excellent brigade of Continental troops under Glover" for that movement against Burgoyne,

resulting in his having a large personal share in the stupendous victory of Saratoga. Creasy includes that crucial struggle among "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."

Fiske concludes his detailed account of the campaign of 1777 thus ended, in a way to emphasize its tremendous importance: "Such was the strange sequel of a campaign which, whether we consider the picturesqueness of its incidents or the magnitude of its results, was one of the most memorable in the history of mankind. Its varied scenes, framed in landscapes of grand stirring beauty, had brought together such types of manhood as the feathered Mohawk sachem, the helmeted Brunswick dragoon, and the blue-frocked yeoman of New England; types of ancient barbarism, of the militancy bequeathed from the Middle Ages, and of the industrial democracy that is to possess and control the future of the world. These men had mingled in a deadly struggle for the strategic centre of the Atlantic coast of North America, and now the fight had ended in the complete and overwhelming defeat of the forces of George III. Four years indeed—four years of sore distress and hope deferred—were yet to pass before the fruits of this great victory could be gathered. The independence of the United States was not yet won: but the triumph at Saratoga set in motion a train of events from which the winning of independence was destined surely to follow." (The American Revolution, Vol. I. pp. 350–1.)

The terrible hardships endured by the Continentals in the winter following have become a commonplace of American history. Colonel Shepard's letter to Col. David Moseley informing the home people of conditions endured has been quoted in full in a preceding chapter. Washington says in a letter to General John Cadwalader:

"Valley Forge, Mar. 20, 1778.

"By death and desertion we have lost a good many men since we came to this ground, and have encountered every species of hardship, that cold, wet, and hunger, and want of clothes were capable of producing: notwithstanding and contrary to any expectations, we have been able to keep the soldiers from mutiny and dispersion; although in the single article of provisions, they have encountered enough to have

occasioned one or other of these in most other armies. They have been (two or three times) days together without provisions; and once, six days without any of the meat kind." (Washington to General Cadwalader: Itinerary of General Washington, 1775 to 1783. Baker, p. 122.)

These were privations which Colonel Shepard shared without complaint over his own personal sufferings involved, but what his men had to endure prompted the humane appeal to the people at Westfield.

In the following summer Colonel Shepard was a member of the court-martial to try Gen. Charles Lee for his conduct at the battle of Monmouth on three counts, disobedience of orders, misbehaviour before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander in Chief. The court was composed of one major-general, Lord Stirling, four brigadiers and eight colonels. Having been convened at Brunswick, July 4, 1778, it moved with the army holding sessions successively at Paramus, Peekskill and Northeastle, finally dissolving August 12, before which time General Glover's brigade with Colonel Shepard's regiment had been detailed under Lafayette to support General Sullivan, who commanded at Providence, in the proposed attack upon the British at Newport. It was on account of the delay incident to the arrival of these reinforcements sent by Washington early in August that the whole enterprise failed, because the French fleet and the land forces did not succeed in concerted action at the critical moment, August 10, giving time for the fleet of Lord Howe to arrive and draw out from the harbor the French fleet which was subsequently disabled by a severe storm. It was not until three years later at Yorktown that their united action was successful.

A striking incident of discipline which occurred during that autumn of 1778 is recorded in the Journal of Ebenezer Wild. His home was in Braintree, and he rose from the ranks in the regiment of Colonel Vose, successively from corporal to lieutenant, taking part in many battles, including Saratoga and Yorktown. While at Providence he writes, "17 Oct. This afternoon at 2 o'clock the brigade was turned out, in order to attend the execution of John & James Battel, soldiers in Colo Shepard's regt. The criminals were brought from the Provost

under a strong guard. Their coffins were borne just before them. The Dead March was played behind them. In this manner they were brought to the place where they were to be executed. Where the brigade was paraded the criminals were brought in front for every one to see them; after which their sentence was read, which was to be shot. Their coffins were set down by the edge of their graves. The men that were to be their executioners had their guns loaded for that purpose, and marched up within about a rod of their coffins. The criminals were made to kneel down by the side of their coffins in order to receive the fatal blow; but at the moment they were to be shot their reprieves were read. The brigade marched back to our camp and were dismissed."

It must have been a salutary lesson to the wrongdoers and an impressive warning to their assembled comrades, even though the extreme punishment was not inflicted.

Wild notes on Nov. 7, 1777, during the march down the Hudson valley after the battle of Saratoga, that Colonel Shepard's regiment was to join General Patterson's brigade.

While still in camp in their winter quarters in the upper part of Providence, Wild had the good fortune to be bidden to a wedding, and he gives a quaint account of his experience in polite society:

"3 January, 1779. This evening just after sundown my friend Ulmer & I walked down in town as far as Mr. Walker's where we met a number of respectable gentlemen and ladies. As soon as we were seated we were presented with a glass of wine in very genteel manner. Between 6 & 7 o'clk we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Saml Welds and Mrs. Susanah Walker enter into the blissful state of marriage. After the nuptual ceremonies were over, we were again seated & very genteelly entertained with cake and wine & spent the evening very agreeably till near 10 o'clk, at which time the company began to retire. Mr. Ulmer and I came home to our quarters."

Early in July, 1779, Glover was ordered by Washington to march with his brigade from Providence to rejoin the main army, and "to take some route not far from the Sound so as to co-operate with the Militia against the depradations of the enemy." The route lay through New London, New Haven, Norwalk, to Ridgefield, where the brigade remained for some

time. Late in November it was "in the gorge of the mountains on the east side of the river [Hudson] and at Verplank's Point," part of the army which was guarding the Highlands.

In the spring of 1779 William Shepard's name appears on the muster roll of the 3d Massachusetts regiment as Colonel and Captain, dated at Providence. August 28 of that year he is shown by a muster roll dated at Salem, to have been Colonel of the 4th Massachusetts regiment, and in the same position in a list of settlement of rank of Continental officers dated at West Point, and confirmed by Congress Sept. 6, 1779, commissioned May 4, 1776.

A return for rations of wagon department, 2d Massachusetts Brigade, dated Feb. 18, 1780, is approved by him as Colonel commanding the brigade.

A year later he was near home on recruiting service, as shown by the following letter:

"Headquarters, New Windsor,
Feb. 22nd 1781.

"I have written to General Lincoln, to Colonel Shepard at Springfield, & to Lieut. Col. Olney at Providence to forward the recruits of Mass. & R. I.

"To Maj. Gen. Heath. G° Washington."

He was reported on command in Springfield in September and October, 1781, having been there probably at the time of the surrender of Yorktown where Lafayette took a prominent part. It was under him that Colonel Shepard acted as brigade commander from 1780 to the close of the war. Early in that period he received from that popular and gallant French General the sword which he prized so highly to the end of his life, and which for many years was carefully preserved in the Westfield Atheneum, where it ought to be still, though the descendant of General Shepard in New Jersey who has it can hardly be blamed for coveting so precious a family heirloom.

The last official item relative to General Shepard in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution" is the fact that he was reported on furlough at West Point from May 20, 1782, by leave of the Commander in Chief.

CHAPTER VII

Gen. William Shepard (*Concluded*)

Among the valuable manuscripts in the Westfield Atheneum is an Orderly Book of Colonel Shepard's covering parts of 1779 and 1780. It was apparently kept by Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Sproul, of Colonel Shepard's regiment, inspector to General Glover's brigade, and contains many items of interest, besides possessing the high value of a document in actual use in the army in those perilous days.

Its opening pages contain the following:

"Head Quarters Salem Septr. 1st. 1779.

Parole Sally (Sines { Martha / Maria

Field Officer to-morrow Col. Vose.

"The Majr. Genl. Publishes to the Division under his command the following orders of his Excellency the Genl. & certain resolves respecting the army.

"Extracts from Genl. Orders 29th August 1779

"The Commander in chief has the pleasure to announce the following resolutions which the Honourable the Continental Congress have been pleased to pass for the benefit of the army. The disposition manifested in those resolves is a fresh proof to the army that their country entertain a high sense of their merit & services & inclined to confer an honourable & adequate Compensation.

"The Genl. flatters himself the several States will second the generous views of Congress, & take every proper measure to gratify every reasonable expectation of such Officers & Soldiers as are determined to share the glory of securing their country & themselves through the war & finishing the task they have so nobly begun.

"A promising aspect of affairs in Europe & in the West Indies, as well as in these States give us every reason to believe that this happy period will soon arrive."

"In Congress, August 19th 1779

"Resolved that untill the further orders of Congress the officers of the army be entitled to receive monthly for their subsistence money the sums following (viz.)

	Dolls.
Each Col & Brigade Chaplain	500 per mon.
Each Lieut. Col.	400
Each Majr. & Regtl. Surgeon	300
Each Capt.	200
Each Lt Ensn. & Surgeons Mate	100

"Resolved, untill the further orders of Congress the sum of Ten Dollars to be paid to each Non commissioned Officer & Soldier Monthly for their subsistence in articles of food originally allowed but not furnished—

"Head Quarters West Point
30th August 1779"

"The new method of keeping accounts &c agreeable to the forms already delivered subinspectors is to commence the first of Septr. next, the inspectors will be very particular in giving the necessary directions to the Officers who are by no means to deviate from the mode prescribed.

"Head Quarters. 2d Septr. 1779

"Field Officer to-morrow Majr. Ball.

"Officers of Guards to order their Centries not to receive the countersign from horsemen, without they dismount at least 10 yards from them & approach them in front; they are not to let any person come within reach of their arms, the guard are always to parade at the approach of armed parties, both cavalry & infantry by night or day and to halt the party at considerable distance from them untill they are certain who they are—Orders that relate immediately to and posts to be sent without delay, those which relate to them in general to be sent by the first convenient conveyance.

Head Quarters 3d Septr. 1779

Parole Hamilton (Counts. { Alton / Enmity

Field Offr. tomorrow Col. Shepard.

"Noncommissioned Offrs. and Soldiers frequently pass through

the Camp by being possessed of the Countersign this is Contrary to Discipline and Dangerous to the Safety and Honour of the Army. Countersigns are not on any acct. to be given to noncommisd. offrs. and Soldiers, but when their Duty makes it Absolutely Requisite, Should Business or Service of Consequence make it necessary for Offrs. to send Soldiers into Camp, or out of it, Passes signed by officers sending them are to be given them. No noncommisd. offr. or Soldiers unless actually on Duty is to be suffered to pass the Guards or Sentries tho possessed of the Countersign but is to be sent to the officer of the Guard who is to learn of them what the name of the person is, who gave him the countersign, which, with that of the Soldier, he is to report in his morning Report, expresses or Dispatches to the General and not to be detained.

"Brigade order—one Captain and two subs. are to be sent Commissy. James Storrs to examine some flour said to be damaged they will attend at 6 o'clock this afternoon.

C.L.L.C.P.

"Detail Guard 2 . 1 . 18"

The cryptic initials above refer to the rank of those respectively who are to constitute the guard, running down from captain to private.

It was during that awful winter of 1780, when the right wing of the army rested at West Point with headquarters in the house of Beverly Robinson, opposite West Point, that the following hint of the destitution and courageous endurance of the troops is given in Colonel Shepard's Orderly Book. The cold was so intense that season that Smith in his History of Pittsfield speaks of the condition of New York harbor, where the ice was so thick as to support the transportation of cannon from Staten Island to New York.

The Robinson House was later made famous as the headquarters of Arnold, whence, leaving his family, he made hasty flight to the British sloop-of-war *Vulture*.—

"Head Quarters Robinson House Januy. 27, 1780.
The General is not unmindfull of the Wants of this Army in Particular their Want of Bread. He Vews them with inexpresible Concern and is taking every measure in his power for their Relief, hopes it will be spedily obtained the season is

so uncomfortable. The fall of the year Was Dry the Mills in many places could not Grind for want of water and the sevear winter has filled the ponds Brooks and Rivers With snow and Ice. Only such mills as are on plentifull streams are so Cloged with snow and Ice as prevents their grinding except a small part of the Day and with much Difficulty this is then all the cause the scarcity of flour.

"The inhabitants in all parts of the Country Northward and Eastward are experiencing the same enconveniency and want. The Patience and soldiery Behaviour of the troops under these Cerconstances are a Repeated and striking Instance how much they are Justly intitled to the application of Good Soldiers and distinguishing them as Patriots and Gardeens of their Contry. The officer Commisary Brigades will Please immediately on such days as flower cannot be essued to order a Jill of Rum pr man to be Issued. Genl Pattison will please to order a Court of Enquiry immidiately to investigate in the most critical manner the Cause of the fire Breaking out Last Night in the Barraks at Westpoint."

Frequent orders were issued to encourage the troops to patience under suffering for lack of clothing due to them but not obtainable in sufficient quantities to meet their necessities.

Another item from Colonel Shepard's Orderly Book reads:

"Highlands, February 5th 1780.

"The north and middle redouts are to be Considered under the Command of Col Shepard and in his absence the Commanding officer of the 4 Regt for the Time Being."

"At a Court Martial held at Highlands Jan. 30. 1780, James Pindar, Nathanel Davis and Joseph Ny were tried for taking and killing a Cow belonging to Joseph Titus and they were adjudged "to Be gilty of the Charges Exhibited against them sevelly James Pindar to Receive 200 Lashes on his Bare Back and the some of one hundred Pounds Currant Money of the State of New York to be stopt out of his wagers and Be paid to hendrick Lent the owner of the Cow in part of the Value of the Cow and that Nathan Davis to Receive 300 Lashes on his Naked Back and the sum of one hundred Pounds

New York Corrancy to Be paid By him the sd Nathan Davis to the sd hendrick Lent By a stoppage of his Pay.

"The Court Do adjudge the former Joseph Ny to Be not Gilty.

"The Genl approves the foregoing Sentences and orders the Corporal Punishment to Be inflicted at the head of the Regts to which the Culprits Belong Respectively."

There is no way of identifying the author of the records in this Orderly Book. Some petty officer probably kept them. It is to be hoped that he was a greater success as a soldier than as a scholar.

The uniforms of the men are thus described:

"West Point, Oct. 2, 1779.

"New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Blue faced with White. Buttons and Lining White."

The Colonels wore the uniforms of their respective regiments with two epaulettes.

Two other interesting items are worthy of preservation:

"Headquarters Robinson House
Feb. 15, 1780.

"Brigades Commisarys Will take Care to keep a Supply of Rum on hand and issue to the officer of the Brigades one Jill pr Ration agreeable to the Genl orders of the 7th Instant this to Continue till farther orders."

"Headquarters Highlands
Jan. 20, 1780.

"the Season Being arrived When Nither the Venson or Skins of the Dear are of any considerable Value and the Killing prohibited by the State the General in the most Positive terms for Bidding any non comsd. officer or Soldier Hunting or Killing any Dear untill the Proper Season Returns. The Genl Desires all officers of all Ranks to see that these orders are Duly observed that the army as Will as the publick may Not be Injured By a total Distruction of that useful and Valuable animal in this Vicinity."

During the early part of the exceptionally severe winter of 1780, Colonel Shepard, posted on the highlands back several

miles from Peekskill, sent the following dispatch to his chief at Robinson's House opposite West Point:

"Dear General. I received your favours yesterday by the express of the 4th and 5th; shall strictly observe the contents as far as lies in my power. Your observations on account of the enemy's being supplied with cattel and provitions from the Tories and Cow Boys is strictly true, and I am very sure their has been a considerable of a trade carried on between the inhabitants and others with the enemy at New York for months past. Sir, you may be assured I shall do all in my power to comply with your orders and instructions whilst I am honord with this command. Sir, I have been much embarrest since I have been at this post on account of the severity of the season and the unaccountabel depth of snow and the roads being intirely blocked up, and not any provitions at the post when I arrived nor within near twenty miles, except two days meat. I imediately sent to Horseneck to procure meat and rum. Mr Ray, the officer I sent, after five days of unaccountable fatigue arrivd with fourteen head of cattle, but could not procure any rum or flower, unless he went to Danbury, and it being impossible to get to Danbury with a horse, and much more so with a carriage, I have given the matter up at present. Their is not an officer or soldier had anything to drink this seven days except could water and cold weather.

"As the cattle did not arive as soon as I expected from Horseneck I sent Capt Hunt with fifty men to Bedford to procure provitions and to impress teams to bring it on. He procured two days pork, about eight hundred weight of flower, and two good teams, and set out and came one mile, but found the snow so unaccountably drifted that he was obliged to turn his teams back, and the men took part of the pork on their backs, and brought it to camp. The flower still remains their, which I am now sending a detachment to bring it on, after the troops which are now ready to march towards the White Plains. The detachments are now two days destitute of flower. I am informed that their is a considerable quantity of grain below the Plains and at the Purchase, which I shall indeavour to collect. In case I fail of this intention the troops must live on meat alone or starve.

"In case the detachment was supplied with racketts I should be more concerned but what I could supply them with provition without much difficulty, but the snow is so unaccountably drifted that we cannot have any assistance by teams or horses. In case we brake paths or shovel through the drifts, it will not be one hour before they are filled again. The inhabitants bring all their grain to the mills on their back, and hall their wood on hand sleds.

"I have sent two parties down to the Plains, one of which has returned. The officer informs me that the snow is near as deep their as hear, and quite as much drifted. Theirs near one third part of the detachment have either frose their feet or ears or fingers. The party that was sent down to supply the places of the deserters almost every man got froast bitten before they arrived hear.

"I am, dear General, with great esteem,

your devotd humle servt. Wm Shepard.

"North Castle, Janry 9th, 1780

"To General Heath."

Later Colonel Shepard was again recruiting officer in this district, as shown by an official communication dated Springfield, June 4th, 1782.

Careful research of the records has made it possible, though in this vague and far from satisfactory way, to trace the movements of this noble hero during the long and trying years of the Revolutionary struggle. He started in the opening campaign about Boston, and thence moved to the vicinity of New York. His duties carried him no farther south than Trenton. The valley of the Hudson as far north as Saratoga was the theater of his operations during the greater part of his service. The campaign in Rhode Island occupied about a year, and he was frequently engaged in recruiting at Springfield.

His son, William Shepard, Jr., born March 19, 1761, before completing his twentieth year joined his regiment, the 4th of Massachusetts, as ensign, at West Point, Jan. 1, 1781, and served until November, 1783, the second generation of the family that bore arms in the Revolution. When General Shepard retired from the Continental service, Jan. 1, 1783, it must have been with a willing mind that he returned to his native town, to his home and to the family from whom his

martial responsibilities had kept him separated for the most of eight years. When thus restored to his family the eldest of his nine children was not quite twenty-two years old, and was married to Margaret Moseley two years afterward; his youngest daughter Lucy was two years old, and Henry, the last of his children, had not completed his first year.

At the time of the Lexington alarm he left at home seven children, the oldest being fourteen and the youngest, Warham, being but a few months past his first birthday, still a babe in arms, as was Henry when he finally returned from the war.

What those long, tedious and anxious years meant to his wife Sarah, left to care for the home, the farm and the children, in times so perilous, can hardly be imagined. No historian of any war has done justice to the class of heroines to which she belonged, bearing burdensome responsibilities, cares and sufferings by the hearthstone, unsustained and uninspired by "the pomp and circumstance of war," silently enduring through the slowly advancing years. Certainly they are worthy of honor and praise commensurate with their efforts and their sacrifices!

Though General Shepard had been for so many years in military life, entering the Revolutionary War as Lieut. Colonel, during which time he passed through twenty-two battles, yet he was ready to resume the duties and responsibilities of civil life. Jan. 23, 1783, but a few weeks after his retirement from the army, he was appointed in town meeting a member of a committee to consider a grievance of Deacon Dewey, and a few days later he was chosen on a committee to save planks and other parts of the Great River bridge which had been wrecked by a flood. In September following he was on a committee to choose a place for rebuilding the bridge, and later on a committee to purchase timber for it.

He was chosen Selectman in four successive years, 1784 to 1787, and surveyor of highways in 1785; in those years he served also on several important special committees.

In 1785 and 1786 he represented the town in the lower branch of the Legislature, and in the latter year he was appointed major general of the 4th division of the Massachusetts State Militia, which opened the way to the important part which he took in quelling the Shays Rebellion and defend-

ing the Springfield arsenal, resuming once more his military life and reaping fresh laurels as a commander. There were at that time nine divisions of the state militia, comprising about 75,000 men: 23,000 alarm men, 50,000 train band infantry, 1200 artillery men, and 1300 cavalry. The 4th division consisted of two brigades of infantry, two troops of artillery and four troops of cavalry, besides alarm men. Major General Shepard magnified his office by the energy with which he organized and drilled the militia, and the spirit with which he animated the officers and privates of his command.

The following letter, burning with righteous indignation against injustice and inhumanity, shows how the gentle soul of a well poised man can flame forth on occasion. The matter treated is somewhat obscure. What seems probable is that the aged man addressed had sent his faithful slave into the army to earn money to purchase his freedom, and Shepard had secured his discharge.

"Springfield, Apr. 2d. 1782.

"Aged Sr. You must allow me to express my astonishment at the depravity of Mankind, lost to all sense of Humanity, Honesty and True Religion, not urged by Necessity, but cruel averice, to Rongfully distress the Human species because they Can!

"Not to hold you in suspense, I have reference to your Honest slave, Prince Pierce, who not only bears your name, but by Information, has by dent of Industry, Honesty and good acconomy, earned you a good estate, spent the Best part of sixty Healthfull years in your service, and now sold for 200 hard dollars to serve three years for his freedom, stript of every species of cloathing fit for any indigent Beggers, and without a farthing of his former earnings to subsist on the Road, by Reason of his age, the Cruelty of [torn off] and his being worn out in private service, and no case for public, he is hereby Discharged, and ought if General report is True to fare sumptuously on his former earning the few days he can live.

"I am sr your very Humble servt.

Wm Shepard Colo.
Commanding at Springfield."

N.B. I have assigned the Reasons of his Discharge to the Legislature Boston.
Mr. John Pearce Digleton."

(Mass. Gazette. May 4, 1784.)

"Take Notice.

"The subscriber has completed the settlement betwixt the United States and the late 4th Massachusetts Regiment while commanded by Col. William Shepard: He therefore requests all Officers and Soldiers of said regiment to apply for the money due to them at Mr. Eleazer Hamlen's, innkeeper in the town of Howard, county of Worcester, where they will be paid at any time after the 15th of May.

Africa Hamlen, Agent
late 4th Massa. Regt."

The important part played by General Shepard in the critical emergency of the Shays Rebellion will be treated in the chapters dealing with that subject. What the public and official estimate of it was is sufficiently indicated by the following action taken by the General Court in a formal resolve, Feb. 5, 1787:

"That the General Court highly approve of the conduct of Major General Shepard and the militia of his division for their exertions and spirited defense of the federal arsenal at Springfield against the daring attempts and attack of the insurgents."

During the late years of the century, before he entered Congress, General Shepard was assiduous in his duties as commanding officer of his division of militia.

Late in October, 1788, in the course of his tour through the northern States, Washington passed through Springfield en route to Boston. The Hampshire Chronicle reported his having been met at the ferry by a number of gentlemen on horseback who escorted him to Landlord Parson's tavern where he was received by the Independent Cadets "who saluted him with three vollies, and paid him every other respect which the dignity of his character merited and required. They were politely noticed by the President."

That General Shepard was among the mounted gentlemen who thus escorted him to his quarters is rendered most probable by the entry for that date in Washington's diary:

"Oct. 21, 1789.

"Reached Springfield by 4 o'clock, and while dinner was

getting, examined the Continental stores at this place, which I found in very good order at the buildings (on the hill above the town) which belong to the United States. The barracks, also public property, are going fast to destruction and in a little time will be no more, without repair. The laboratory, which seems to be a good building, is in tolerably good repair and the powder magazine, which is of brick, seems to be in excellent order, and the powder in it very dry. A Col. Worthington, Col. Williams, Adjt. Gen'l of the State of Massachusetts, Gen. Shepard, Mr. Lyman and many other gentlemen, sat an hour or two with me in the evening at Parson's tavern, where I lodged, and which is a good house."

The great esteem in which Washington held his old friend General Shepard had been increased by the skill and courage which marked his campaign against Shays and his turbulent followers. That notable success made the meeting between the illustrious patriots the more significant. Each was worthy of the honor mutually bestowed.

In the month following that meeting at Parson's Tavern this item was published:

1826717

"Nov. 18, 1789.

"The report respecting Gen. Shepard's having been fired at in a late review, we are assured by the General himself, is totally destitute of foundation.

"Moreover we are informed by several gentlemen, that no circumstance whatever has transpired but what demonstrates that the Militia of Hampshire, to a man, revere and love their Major-General as an officer whose humanity has ever been as conspicuous as his bravery."

That a patriot of such ability and such a noble type as General Shepard, after all the privations which he had endured in two wars, and the sacrifices cheerfully made which were necessarily involved in march, bivouac and battlefield, should have felt obliged to press the following appeal, is most pathetic. That it should have been pressed in vain upon his native state, and again in vain upon the national authorities, is tragic and incredibly disgraceful to the land for which he fought and bled and suffered.

It was sent to his old Revolutionary comrade and friend, General Knox, who had been for many years Secretary of War, probably about the middle of the last decade of the century.

"Sir. My feelings arising as well from our former connection as officers in the army of the United States as from my knowledge of your desire to have all military services which have been performed with fidelity in the defense of our country rewarded, so far as they merit it, prompt me to make the following representation to you and to ask your kind and generous advice thereon.

"What I wish to be particularly attended to is my past service as major general of the militia in the county of Hampshire, at Springfield and other parts of the country during the insurgency in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a service which was tedious and hazardous to me, as well as greatly injurious to my domestic business, and which excited against me keenest resentment and the most pointed injuries of the disaffected and disappointed insurgents, and which called for all the money I could furnish or procure on my own credit for the necessary execution of my duty at that distressing time, and the injuries I reffered to I still experience occasionally to this day.

"Sensible that my circumstances require me from a principle of duty to a large family, to look for a reimbursement of the money I have advanced and expended in the expedition, I applied to the Legislature of the Commonwealth for the payment of the account, stating the sums that I had paid out in money as well as small charges for supporting the horses for expresses at my home, and crediting for the sums which have been supplied by committees, the balance due to me was curtailed by 15 or 16 pounds, which though small gain to the public, is of essential consequence to me, as I was obliged to dispose of a final 'settlement certificate,' so-called, of $1113 at less than four shillings to the pound in order to pay a part of the money I had borrowed before the Commonwealth made a settlement of the account.

"As to private injuries and insults which I have received, some have been by the burning of my fences and injuring of my woodlands by fire beyond recovery for many years:

by most wantonly as well as cruelly destroying two of my horses by cutting off their ears and digging out their eyes: by personally insulting me with the vilest epithet of 'a murderer of my brethren,' and through anonymous letters threatening me with the destruction of my dwelling-house and family by fire.

"I wish now to suggest that at the time I received your request to take particular charge and care of the arsenal on Springfield hill that you gave me encouragement that you would see me paid for the service of defending it, provided I should not receive an adequate reward from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and therefore I have delayed troubling you in the business from the respect I thought due to them and a hope that I should not be left to suffer from the discharge of duty in the service of my country.

"However since an application and the consequent result of it, I must acknowledge that I feel myself disappointed in that hope and unable to recover from the disadvantages which have come upon me unavoidably during and since the late insurrection, and I have now no expectation of assistance but the clemency and liberality of Congress should an application to that august body be thought proper.

"I therefor, Sir, Request your kind consideration of the circumstances of my situation, and your friendly advice, whether an application to Congress will be expedient, and what mode of statement to them will be most likely to convey the most complete idea of the matter, and to obtain such consideration as they in their wisdom may think fit to grant.

"I have been lately informed, Sir, that an officer is to be appointed as agent to superintend the affairs of the Six Nations of Indians, and being desirous of procuring some office under government the emoluments of which may help me to a decent support in life, I beg your friendly assistance in procuring me that berth if you should think my past services and present character and ability should merit it. Your friendship in the foregoing matter will highly oblige and greatly serve, and be most gratefully acknowledged by, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant—

"Wm Shepard."

Compensation for money advanced and for losses consequent upon his heroic, patriotic and able defense of constitutional law and public property was shamelessly denied him. It was but a niggardly response to his claims to appoint him to service under the State to negotiate with the Penobscot Indians in 1796, and under the national government in 1797 to treat with the Six Nations. Instead of according him what was justly due him, these appointments simply secured the services of a man peculiarly fitted for them with such financial requitals as the authorities deemed sufficient. Pure-minded, noble-souled patriot that he was, he simply accepted the new responsibilities and performed the required labors with that high order of ability which marked all his services.

An incident in the contumely which was heaped upon him by resentful tories has its humorous side. They were among his bitterest enemies, but during the Revolutionary struggle they were forced to prudent silence, some of them having learned the lesson by being incarcerated in the county jail at Northampton. The general discontent during the period marked by Shays' rebellion encouraged them to greater boldness. Prominent among these local tories was Roland Parks, who received a pension during life from the British government. From time to time he would don his British uniform and ride consequentially by the General's house to insult and anger him. Finally the General's forbearance was able no longer to endure the flaunting renegade, and he sent word to the blustering tory that he would shoot him the next time he passed the house in that uniform. He never again appeared in Shepard's Lane (now Franklin Street) except in the ordinary homespun garments of the day.

In August, 1796, General Shepard, Nathan Dane of Beverly, and Daniel Davis of Portland acted as commissioners to treat with the Penobscot Indians. They secured the release of all the tribal claims upon territory above Nicholas Rock on the Penobscot river with certain limitations. The condition of the release was the payment of 150 yards of blue woolens, 400 pounds of shot, 100 pounds of powder, 100 bushels of corn, 13 bushels of salt, 36 hats, one barrel of rum, an annual stipend of 300 bushels of Indian corn, 50 pounds of powder, 200 pounds of shot, 75 yards of blue woolen cloth fit for garments. The

release covered 189,426 acres which subsequently were surveyed and divided into townships.

It may have been partly due to his success in that undertaking that he was appointed the following year, 1797, to represent Massachusetts with Jeremiah Wadsworth, acting for the United States, to treat with the Six Nations.

The meeting between the Commissioners and Indians was on the Genesee River, in the county of the same name in New York, where the Senecas have since then had a reservation of 7549 acres. The land released through those negotiations was afterward surveyed by General Shepard and divided into townships.

Having served two years in the Legislature, he served four years as Senator and was on the Governor's Council from 1792 through 1796. He was presidential elector in the first two elections under the Constitution, 1792 and 1796. After varied, faithful and honorable service in his native state, General Shepard was elected to serve the nation in the fifth, sixth and seventh Congresses, from March 4, 1797, to March 3, 1803.

The following outline of his attitude toward several bills in Congress is drawn from its Journal:

During 1798 in January, he favored a petition of the daughters of Count de Grasse for an annuity. It was the fleet of Admiral de Grasse which so effectively co-operated with the American forces at the decisive battle of Yorktown, in October, 1781.

In February, General Shepard favored the expulsion of a member from Vermont for a gross breach of privilege, no less than caning a fellow member.

In March when "Relations with France" was under discussion, he did not favor war, but he did urge an adequate state of defense as best security against war; ports fortified, armed vessels to protect the coast, and militia in requisition.

In April he favored additional armament, an appropriation of $800,000 for the purchase of 1000 cannon and 20,000 stand of arms, as probably sufficient to meet any threatening foe.

He also pleaded for economy in military appropriations, obliging soldiers to do the work of laborers and boatmen, and advocated striking out an appropriation for fuel since it could be cut anywhere.

In May, in a debate on a bill for the Protection of Commerce, he made a vigorous appeal for resistance of French aggression, declaring that "France means to humiliate and abuse us, but let us bid her cease, telling her we will not submit any longer."

In January, 1799, he favored a bill for providing arms for the militia, but opposed a bill to put the militia under direct control of the President, taking it out of the control of the several States, holding that the plan was unconstitutional.

He spoke several times on the "Provisional Army" bill, concluding, after a tilt with a Southern member, "as for the chin talk of the gentleman from South Carolina, I shall take but little heed of it: though he attempted to laugh at me whenever I speak (which is rather disgusting), I shall continue to speak without being hindered or terrified by him."

His fighting blood had not been sapped by years of peace.

The following letter to Mr. Elijah Bates indicates the financial stress under which General Shepard labored, and the considerateness of an eminent fellow townsman who appreciated his worth.

"Philadelphia. Decr.: 18, 1798.

"Dear Sir Soon after my arrival here I sent on some money to Mrs. Shepard and Directed her to pay you the money you was so kind as to loan me when I set out from home, which I hope you have or will receive before this will reach you. I have nothing new to write all the news we have here I send on in the papers.

"We have begun our winters work, and when we opened the Session I indulged the pleasing hope that we should have a Calm and peaceable session, but soon after we began to Debate upon matters, the hot shot began to fly from one side of the house to the other but I still hope that we shall not have any thing warmer than close Plattoon firing. I hope we shall avoid the bayonet at least, but the old leaven and acrimony dont seem to be all Done away.

"Sir I send you a letter inclosed for Mrs. Shepard which I will thank you to Deliver to her with your own hand.

"My respects to all my friends

and am Dear Sir your friend and Humble Servt

"Mr. E. Bates. Wm Shepard."

(The Shepard Correspondence, Westfield Atheneum.)

Thus inclosing a letter to his wife is further indication of the stern economy which he was obliged to practice. Though a member of Congress, instead of being able to frank his letter he had to pay postage on it amounting to 18 pence.

In the midst of perplexing national affairs, General Shepard found domestic issues full of gravest concern for many years, largely owing to the fact that with rare devotion he had given his life and energies to the public service, to the detriment of his own financial interests. The following letter to one of his sons shows that he kept stout heart amid continuous difficulties.

"Washington, Apr the 4th 1802.

"Dear Son: I have received your letters and examined there contents. shall only observe on the one of the 24. ult. You say that you think you will be short of Hay. Am very sorry to hear that, and Beef you say is low, 27/ to 30/ per Hundred, good Beef will be up again before June will be out, good Stall fed Beef will be worth Seven Dollars a Hundred—if you can keep them untill the grass grows and get them into a good Pasture we save forty Dollars by it, perhaps Mr. Nash of Middlefield will take them by the 20th of this month and keep them by hay untill his Pasture is grown, but if you cant get them put out, you may sell them to the best advantage you can but if you can get them kept at Middlefield put them out, send to Charles and let him inquire or go up yourself and see.

"I am so weak that my hand trembles so that I cant write any more at present. Am better than when I wrote last but I gain strength very slowly. I attended the House two days last week, but still have a pain in my Bowels. Cant sleep well o' nights and have but a poor appetite, but it is better than it was.

"My respects to you and both Families.

"Am your affected Parent

Wm Shepard.

"Mr Noah Shepard."

(The Shepard Correspondence, Westfield Atheneum.)

General Shepard's interest in popular education, though he had enjoyed only scanty opportunities to improve his own

mind under scholarly instructors, is evidenced by the fact that he was chosen to preside at a meeting held Jan. 13, 1792, to organize a Library Club, also by the support he gave to the enterprise of founding Westfield Academy as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

The year after the close of the Revolution the returned officer united with the church, then under the pastorate of Rev. Noah Atwater, and thence to the time of his death, 34 years later, was its faithful member. That was the year in which his Father died after having served as Deacon for 28 years. Six years later, in 1789, the General was elected to the office, the third generation of his family that occupied it in the Westfield church.

He served in that office only one year less than his Father, whose Father before him had served 26 years. Thus for more than three-quarters of a century a member of his family honored that office in the old church.

It is a remarkable additional fact that in the next generation his eldest son William, who had been Ensign in the closing period of the war, having moved to western New York, was there made a Deacon of a Congregational Church in Canandaigua.

General Shepard, illustrious as a soldier and as a civilian in various positions of trust, was an earnest and faithful christian, meek and gentle in spirit but sturdy and loyal in the service of Christ and His church. In his later years the infirmities of age distressed him somewhat, but he had large compensations for them in the remembrance of a life well spent in worthy services, and in the honor, reverence and esteem in which he was held by his townsmen and by the wider circle who had become acquainted with his character and his sacrifices.

He has been described as "a large, well formed man, six feet in height, compactly built, not corpulent, and weighing something more than two hundred pounds." Dr. James C. Greenough, in his admirable sketch of Westfield, prepared for "Hampden County" quotes from his Father-in-Law, the late Hon. William G. Bates, who as a boy knew Gen. Shepard:

"When I recall his large imposing figure, bedecked with trusty sword and crimson sash, the modest insignia of his rank,

accompanied by Adjutant Dewey with the bright point of his spontoon glistening in the sun, and heard the whispers 'There's the General,' I remember the awe, notwithstanding his genial face, with which he inspired me."

After the soldiers had completed their evolutions and broken ranks, they vied with one another in seeking the old General and shaking the hand of the hero of two wars, aggregating nearly fourteen years, the trusted friend of Lafayette and Washington.

Speaking of his character Mr. Bates says: "The man who for more than thirty years was in the service of his country in places of high emolument, the man who was esteemed by Washington, and was his companion in all the battles of the Revolution, who, being detached for that purpose, fought with Gates at the battle of Saratoga and contributed to the surrender of Burgoyne: the man who, notwithstanding his simple and frugal habits of living, in his small brown house, his constant and energetic labor in the favorite business of his life, went to his grave a poor man! What a record is that to leave of him! No taint of meanness or dishonesty ever attached itself to him. He was distinguished for his good character and his unbending integrity." (Hampden County, Vol. II, pp. 416–7.)

The following merited tribute was paid to him in the Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, by J. M. Bugbee, 1890: "General Shepard might well be taken as a typical soldier of the Revolution, brave, earnest, and God-fearing. The rough life of a camp in the critical period between boyhood and manhood did not corrupt his morals, the savagery of border warfare with the Indians did not affect the natural kindness of his disposition. He appears to have had a certain grim humor of the Cromwellian kind; and it may be said of him, indeed, that he was a Captain after Cromwell's own heart."

"Dec. 1816. At a regular meeting of the church Deacon William Shepard requested that on account of his age & infirmities another Deacon might be appointed to officiate in his place.

"The church voted their thanks to Deacon Shepard for his

long & acceptable services requested him to officiate in his office whenever he might be able & appointed Ebenezer Fowler to the office of Deacon." (Records of the First Church, Westfield.)

The immense elm tree standing on the lot where General Shepard lived on Franklin Street, corner of Allen Avenue, was appropriately marked by a bronze tablet on June 8, 1910, the gift of the Mercy Warren Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution. Hon. M. B. Whitney, President of the Western Hampden Historical Society, presided. After he had made brief introductory remarks, children of the Normal Training School sang two selections under the leadership of Principal George W. Winslow, Rev. John H. Lockwood offered prayer, and Mrs. Clara S. Palmer of Chicopee read an interesting historical sketch of General Shepard. The tablet was unveiled by Miss Addie Ellina Shepard of Westfield, a great-grand-daughter of the General. The inscription was read to the large audience by Rev. John H. Lockwood, thus worded—

" In Memory of
Gen. William Shepard
Born Dec. 1, 1737: Died Nov. 16, 1817
A Hero of Twenty-two Battles
In the American Revolution."

Mrs. W. W. McClench of Springfield in behalf of the Chapter presented the tablet to the Western Hampden Historical Society, for the town of Westfield.

The exercises were concluded by the reading of an original poem by Mrs. L. N. Clark of Westfield, and, at the suggestion of Dr. James C Greenough, by a vote of thanks to the donors and to all participants in the afternoon's proceedings.

CHAPTER VIII

The Shays Rebellion

It is difficult for people in a prosperous age, in conditions of ease and plenty, with institutions firmly established and the machinery of government running smoothly, to realize clearly the state of people in conditions the very reverse of those now existing. We think of our forefathers during Revolutionary days as deprived of much in the shape of material conveniences and luxuries upon which we are accustomed to depend as matters of course, but the fact that they had never known many of them makes us feel that, made of stern stuff as the men and women of these times were, inured to a large degree of hardship, heroic in their attitude toward difficulties and sacrifices, deprivation of even the very necessaries of life was borne by those sturdy yeomen naturally and rather easily. While maintaining a stiff fight with the common enemies of their country, it was to be expected of them to deal with their personal adversities in the same determined, courageous spirit.

During the long years of the Revolutionary War, conditions continued to be distressing and at times well-nigh unendurably so. The great majority of the people were in financial straits, both those under arms at the front and those remaining at home. The struggle for existence was painful and continuous. The cause for which they strained was noble, worthy of all cost which it might involve, but that cost continued to be grievous.

As the years passed the number of poor people increased, and the poverty of most of them also increased. War is inexorable in its demands upon national resources, and response to its demands necessarily depletes the common store. Though many obligations of the Confederacy, the State and the individual town were met by nothing more substantial than orders upon various custodians of funds, mere promises to pay which waited indefinitely and often desperately for redemption, popular needs required material supplies the lack of which must have proved fatal.

People who had been poor during the progress of the war were not brought to sudden opulence by the formal declaration of peace, glorious and gratifying as that issue of the conflict was. It is not strange that the unrelaxing strain grew so irksome as to drive many, even those who had borne willingly many sacrifices, to discontent, to bitter complaints, to attempted measures which seemed to give some promise of relief. The sight of the prosperous condition of some people in every community who avoided personal sacrifice and reaped advantages from the heorism of nobler lives was exasperating to many hard-pressed victims. The fact that the authorities who had been forced to involve the people in stupendous obligations were doing their best to meet and liquidate those obligations, did not provide food for hungry mouths nor clothes for naked backs.

In the Hampshire Herald of Feb. 14, 1786, there is a citation from a Boston paper which commends the attitude of those men who having rendered heroic service to the nation on the field were waiting for a settlement from the government: "Publick creditors will wait with patience when they see rulers and people pursuing just and equitable measures for paying their debts. Such conduct would tend to establish our nation, and render us respectable at home and abroad; while those who are sporting with publick credit and preying upon the necessities of the unfortunate, would be driven to seek different employment."

To which it is replied editorially that noble as those sentiments are "it should be remembered that the present publick creditors among ourselves are not *generally* the persons who have fought and bled. The latter, urged by dire necessity, as well as induced by usages of government, have sold, at a low rate, the reward promised as the price of their labours and sufferings, and shall these be taxed and even beggared to enrich the wealthy *Purchasers* who now are the creditors? Will they, who have already copiously bled for their country, think it equitable that the small remains of their blood should be drained off to swell the turgid veins of those who have dwelt in security, and fattened in ease and affluence? Forbid it, humanity! Forbid it, gratitude and justice!"

The movement which had its disastrous issue in what is

known as Shays' Rebellion began to manifest itself long before the final catastrophe. Because the forces of popular discontent which there culminated were so widespread through this Commonwealth, because they were felt so deeply in the town of Westfield, and, above all, because of the important part enacted in behalf of duly constituted authority opposing treachery and treason by Westfield's eminent patriot, General William Shepard, it is manifestly fitting that somewhat extended consideration of that important affair should be given in this local history.

As early as Aug. 11, 1779, the following significant item appears upon the town records: "Voted that the Petition prefered by Benjamin Winchel & others for the Purpose of Stoping the Courts of Justice in this Country be not sustained."

Another important item appears in the record of that meeting: "It was moved & seconded to chose a Delegate to go to the Convention at Concord next October agreeable to a Request sent by the Town of Boston for the Purpose of regulating & Stating the Prizes of the Articles of Life, & it passed in the negative."

It may be that the distance between Westfield and that town at the eastern end of the State was responsible for that decision.

A more important item still of the same meeting is a record of the appointment of Col. John Moseley to represent the town at a Convention to be held September 1, at Cambridge, "for the purpose of forming a new Constitution or Form of Government," and nine persons were appointed to instruct him.

September 29 following it was voted "to see if the Town would come into some Measurs with Regard to stating the Prises of the Necessaries of Life." A committee of seven persons, Capt. John Gray, Dea. Joseph Root, David Weller, Jr., Lieut. Zechariah Bush, Aaron King, Lieut. David Sacket and Martin Root, was appointed "to procure a Copy of the Proceedings of the last Convention held at Northampton & make such alterations in the same as they should think proper & report to the Town."

The convention referred to had been held at the Court House in Northampton, September 8, in response to a call

sent to every Hampshire town by the Committees of Correspondence of the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, South Hadley and Amherst, having as its object "that there might be a uniformity of prices in the several towns." There is no record of the result reached, but it was rejected at a subsequent meeting in Westfield.

Only five Hampshire towns sent delegates to the October convention at Concord.

The first convention of 1782 was held at Hadley, and it was for his utterances there and elsewhere that Samuel Ely was arraigned before Major Hawley in Northampton, February 14, to answer the charge of being guilty of "treasonable practices." He soon became notorious and fomented most serious disturbances. Capt. Daniel Sacket and Lieut. Falley were appointed to represent Westfield at that convention. Judd in his Diary characterizes its action as having been "ill done" and a "scandel to the country." At the March meeting, 1782, Capt. Daniel Sacket was appointed a delegate to a convention to be held at Hadley the first Monday in April. What was probably intended was the meeting held at Hatfield on the first Tuesday in April. Thirty-six towns were there represented and the sittings of the convention extended over several days.

At that Convention on a motion "to request the Superior County Court to forbear giving judgment in civil causes, except the condition make it appear that he is in danger of losing his debt, or when the parties are agreed," the delegates from the towns voted respectively as follows: Yes—Granville, Norwich, Granby, Whately, Montague, Shelburne, Charlemont, Greenwich, Conway, Westfield, Palmer, Pelham, Leverett, Ludlow, Ashfield; Nay—Springfield, Wilbraham, Deerfield, Monson, Blandford, Northampton, Southampton, Hadley, Westhampton, Hatfield, Goshen, Cummington, Williamsburg, South Hadley, Amherst, Sunderland, Shutesbury, Worthington, Chesterfield, Greenfield, Belchertown.

Every grievance under which any member imagined that he or others suffered was aired. Sweeping changes in the administration of justice were demanded; and it was voted "that there be no County Court of the sessions of the Peace."

With that to support him, Ely, who had been let off with-

out penalty by Major Hawley, instigated mob violence against the April sitting of the Court at Northampton. Samuel Ely had posed as a minister at Somers, Conn., but had so harried and divided the church as to be finally expelled from its pulpit. Holland declares of him, "He was a vehement, brazen-faced declaimer, abounding in his hypocritical pretensions to piety, and an industrious sower of discord; and he delighted in nothing more than in sowing jealousies between the poor and the rich." Dwight, in his "Travels," says that "he possessed the spirit, and so far as his slender abilities would permit, the arts of a demagogue in an unusual degree. He was voluable, vehement in address, bold, persevering, active, brazen-faced in wickedness." (Vol. 2. pp. 275–6.)

Early in the winter he had asserted fiercely at Sunderland that the people must "throw up our constitution" and that he "had got a constitution in his pockett that the angel Gabriel could not find fault with." He declared that "the Justices of the Supreme Court have gone beyond their power and should not sitt, nor the General Court should not sitt." For months he went ranting against the courts throughout the county. When the Court of General Sessions of the Peace began its sitting, April 4, and during subsequent days, he incited the people to violence, but could not induce them to criminal action. A guard of men under Captain Allen protected the court while Ely continued his bravado and inflammatory harangues.

Judd notes under date of April 12: "About 5 o'clock in the afternoon a Committee from the Mob came into Court. About half an hour after sent a petition and before Dark came in a body. But a Guard under Capt. Allen prevent their coming into the Court House. Ely was soon after taken and Examined and then bound to appear at the next Superior Court which took after Midnight. Ely was in no ways subdued but I suppose the rest were."

He was afterward indicted by the Grand Jury and May 6 he was sentenced to pay a fine of £50, suffer six months' imprisonment, and recognize in the sum of £200, with sufficient sureties in the like sum for his keeping the peace and being of good behavior for the term of three years, pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed till this sentence is performed.

A mob gathered at that time, appearing from several neighboring towns, and threatening to release him, but he was sent to prison in Springfield under a strong guard. A month later, June 12, a rabble of about 150 riotous persons, gathered from different towns up the river, entered Springfield late in the afternoon when a large part of the male inhabitants were absent at the funeral of Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, and released Ely from the gaol. Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley, high sheriff of the county, hastily organized a posse and the next day in Northampton an agreement was reached between the mob and the representatives of civil authority, whereby Ely was to be given up, but as he had already disappeared he could not be produced, and three hostages were therefore given by the mob and put into jail in Northampton to remain until Ely should be returned. This angered the malcontents who had begun to disperse. They gathered again and were joined by others the next day, while the guard about the jail was strong and vigilant. On Saturday, June 16, the crowds increased and became so threatening that Colonel Porter called upon various towns for assistance, and the services on the following day were marked by the absence of many male worshipers usually in attendance. The account in the Diary of Jonathan Judd, Jr., who was an eyewitness, is so vivid in its details of the proceedings on that eventful Sunday as to warrant its reproduction.

"Sunday 17. Got up about four went to the middle of the Town. Maj. Bannister, Capt. White & Capt. Warner, who are leaning toward the Mobb go up to Hatfield. Was with a Committee to advise the Sheriff. Was at the Meeting part of the Exercises. People collect but slow till Noon and after. Upon Maj. Bannister &c. coming back at 2 Phinehas Lyman, Noah Smith & Dea. King go to the Mobb. All the return we have is that they will have the Hostages. They were then thought at Luke Lymans. We answer they can not. At Dusk when Col. Porter had about 500 Men at the Jail and Gen. Parks arrives with 160 more, they march to the Jail mostly on Horses, being about 450 men one Half armed with Clubbs. They fill the Lane from the School House to and in the Jail Yard. A Parley then began which lasted about 1 Hour and a Half, in which Time Capt. Dickinson and

other Heads of the Mobb went into the Goal and saw the Prisoners. They had then one Idea of resigning up Ely, but as soon as they came out Ely put off with speed. It was then agreed that the Mobb should go to the plain near the Burying Yard and they went and Dickinson returned and the agreement was that the Question whether the Hostages should be delivered up should be brought to a County Convention and their opinion sent to the General Court who should be the final Judges in the matter. When Dickinson returned to the plain all his party had left him. Almost the whole Party might have been taken with very little loss, but we aimed to show we did not want to Hurt them nor shed blood. Springfield people came while they were at the Jail with 1 field Piece and a Number of Continental Soldiers. A large Guard was kept at the Goal, others scattered about a little not much; it was so near Day before matters were settled."

It was surely a long and exciting day for Judd, lasting nearly twenty-four hours, during which he could have had little if any rest. But late as was his hour of retiring he got up at 4 o'clock again on the following morning to find the leaders as "obstinate as human creaturs can be. Nothing can be done with them. A Mobb man is almost certainly a Liar. Their cause is principally carried on by Lying."

The General Parks mentioned in his record was Gen. Warham Parks of Westfield, and his contingent of 160 men was probably raised in his native town.

Though Major Hawley urged the policy of holding the hostages until Ely was returned to custody, or it would be a "triumph to the tories and Great Britain," the tories having been active in fomenting the troubles and inciting the seditious proceedings, yet on Tuesday the hostages were released on the promise that they would return Ely or themselves when called for by the General Court.

Holland is indignant over that proceeding, and declares, "nothing could have been more contemptibly pusillanimous than the conduct of Gen. Porter on this occasion."

Major Hawley saw great danger in the exciting conditions, believing that the "Tories have great expectation from the view and prospect of them." But so careful a local historian as George Sheldon says, "It was by the firmness of Gen. Porter

that the law was sustained, and by his prudence that a disastrous scene of bloodshed was averted, when six hundred determined men confronted the five hundred and fifty who guarded the Northampton jail, men equal in courage and social position. The mob had been misled by false reports, and it is a fact that the hostages, while still in prison, made such representations to Capt. Dickinson and others that this well-organized, well-led, and well-armed body of men, whom that distinguished patriot, Joseph Hawley, dignified by calling 'insurgents,' were induced to disband and disperse without firing a shot."

Trumbull in a sane and judicial spirit approved the action of Colonel Porter, and his conclusion seems to be justified by the general tenor and specific details of a letter sent by Major Hawley to Caleb Strong, member of the Legislature from Northampton, June 24, 1782. He had already sent a message to the General Court recommending that it appoint a Committee to come to Hampshire County for the purpose of making a careful investigation of existing conditions. The General Court had voted several days earlier to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in the county for six months, and he plead that the Committee to be appointed should be made up of "sensible, honest, cool, and Patient men." In describing the state of public affairs he says, "You would be astonished to know with what amazing rapidity the spirit of the Insurgents spreads. Many are infected with it of whom you would not have the least suspicion. We are not certain who besides the Devil sprang Ely at first. But we are not at a loss who ventilates the flame, for the fire is now become such a flame as I cannot describe to you. The Genl Court have not had any affair of greater magnitude before them since the Revolution. Dispatch, dispatch is of infinite consequence, but at the same time we must remember *Festina lente*, for that interest a committee must previously be on the spot."

Later he reports, "We have had it Hurra'd for Geo. 3d within 8 rods of the Court House. Doct Hunt surmises that there may be British emissaries with British money among the people. Such a supposition does not appear to me groundless. None but God can say how far the spirit may spread." Still later he adds, "The people of the highlands of this county

and Berkshire are *fervidum Genus hominum*, and many, too many, on the east side of the river are of the same temper. * * * An attempt to subdue these People by force will at least be very expensive if not a very dangerous course. Their numbers by some means or other (be those what they may) increase daily." (Trumbull's Northampton. Vol. II, pp. 465–6. Copied there by permission from the Hawley papers, Bancroft Collection, Lenox Library, New York.)

Two important considerations must be noted in this connection, the emphasis laid by Major Hawley upon the character of many of the partisans of the movement, with its widespread extent; and the fact that such a general spirit of discontent and resistance to authority had come into existence five years previous to the final outburst of the insurrection before the arsenal in Springfield. The interest of people in Westfield is shown by the records of frequent action in the premises. On the last day of 1781 it was voted not to accept the Excise Act and a Committee consisting of Capt. Gray, Doct. Ashley and Capt. Sacket, prominent citizens and patriots, was appointed "to draw up a Remonstrance against the aforesaid Act & to petition the General Court to repeal the same." That committee was also to draw up the petition "agreeable to the letter sent to this Town by the Committee of West Springfield relative to Excise Act."

Besides the delegates appointed to the convention at Hadley in February, and to that in Hatfield in April, as already noted, Captain Sacket was chosen to represent the town at a convention in Hadley May 15, and on the following day the town adopted the doings of that Convention and gave its fourteen articles as orders in its Representatives in the General Court.

"1. That there shall be no Excise paid on any article of Consumption in a free Republick.

"2d We consider ourselves much agrieved by being obliged by law to carry all our Deeds to a Register when to have our Deed Recorded in our own Town must save the People a vast sum in a year & answer the Purpose in Law.

"3d We find ourselves much agrieved by haveing a large Number of Justices at the quarter Sessions which must cost the County a large sum of money (we Judge needlessly) when

the Inferior Court alone can answer the same statutary purpose.

"4th We find ourselves much agrieved that the Legislature should give the Worthy Governour Eleven Hundred Pounds per annum and all other salary men of the civil Department proportionable together with the President of the Colledge & his fellows to them as such.

"5th We find ourselves much agrieved that the Several Clerks of the Superior & Inferior Courts should have ten or twelve shillings for Entering of Actions when we apprehend that one shilling is sufficient reward from the Debtor.

"6th We find ourselves much agrieved that there is such needless numbers of Deputy Sheriffs in this County & tis our real Judgment that no Deputy Sheriff ought to serve any writ of a civil matter as a Constable belonging to the several towns can and ought in Justice to serve all writs in their own town to save the poor generally in debt needless expense.

"7th We find ourselves much agrieved that the Select Men or some other Town Officers have not sufficient power to License all Innholders & retalers in their own Towns in order to save time pains & needless cost.

"8th We find ourselves much agrieved that we cannot have the Confession Act which we Judge is the best & the most saveing act for the People of any that can be adapted notifying the Debtor to repair before some Justice in the vicinity and makeing Confession of his Note or book Debt in order to save great cost the civil trust to be Impowered by the Legislature to take such confession & give Execution upon sd confession, when demanded by the Creditor upon the riseing of the next successive Court.

"9th We find ourselves much agrieved that we have but one Judge of Probate in this large County when the Constitution does admit better provision for the saveing of the Publick great expence in probate matters.

"10th We find ourselves much agrieved that all Debts exceeding forty shillings should be confined by law for Judgment at the County Court when we think that every Justice ought to have power to Judge and determine any civil cause not exceeding twenty Pounds allowing to either party a right of appeal.

"11th We Judge it highly requisite that there be an Act of Law making Personal & Real Estate a tender to satisfy Execution, to be apprised by Indifferent Men under oath, with this restriction that household furniture meaning Utensils & the tools of Mecanicks shall not be taken while there is any other Estate.

"12th It is our opinion that no man sustain any office in Government but these that have distinguished themselves as friends to their Country.

"13th We find ourselves much agrieved in the high & large fees which we understand the Law gives Atturnies for the drawing of writs & summonsis as the sum allowed them is six or seven shillings for a Court Writ when we are perswaided that one quarter of that sum or less is a sufficient consideration for that service.

"14th We your humble Petitioners for the redress of the foregoing Grievances would bespeack the Legislature by all Means to suspend the law in civil Matters while we remain under such very great burdens of a publick nature untill we find ourselves redressed relating to the foregoing grievances, Publick Taxes excepted, your Petitioners therefore petition your Honours to take the matter of grievances (above related) into your wise Consideration & we doubt not we shall obtain redress as in duty bound we shall ever pray.

"N. B. the above is a Coppy of the doings of the Convention and by a vote of the Town is given our Representatives for their Instructions in the General Court."

The above proceedings are interesting and illuminating in many respects. Granting the legitimacy of the convention as a method of correcting wrongs and reforming methods of civil procedure, this action of the citizens was regular and orderly. They were living under a representative form of government in a democratic State, and they simply thereby instructed their representatives at the General Court to attempt by proper means to influence that governmental body to redress what their constituents considered grievances.

It was a far cry from such orderly procedure to the insurgency which by overt acts sought to overwhelm and destroy constitutional instruments for the administration of justice and the lawful conduct of affairs.

It became a stock action of conventions, even when they followed in quick succession one upon another, to declare with vehement emphasis, and to spread upon their records that they were legitimately convened. This declaration was made even when accompanied with most treasonable utterances and threats of anarchistic activities.

In the absolutely free government which they had established at such cost of blood and treasure, and from the willing sacrifices for which they were then smarting under their enumerated grievances, they had ample opportunity to put into operation forces of amelioration plainly and amply furnished by their constitution. The men who framed the laws and administered civic affairs were the fruits of their own choice and awaited annually upon their will to determine whether they should continue to hold office. And so long as they were in office the people could advise, instruct and command them at their good pleasure. It was to make more definite, more forceful, more swift, more popular the control of statutes, measures and methods, that the plan of county conventions met with such favor with many citizens. Delegates could get together at short notice for common consideration of vital matters, and for concerted and immediate action respecting them. The same opportunity which, prudently and patriotically improved, had been fraught with such beneficent results through the various Committees of Inspection, Correspondence and Safety in preparation for and in prosecution of the Revolution, under different auspices, less wise and patriotic leadership, less lofty motives, less scrupulous methods, resulted in disaster and shame. Minot, commenting upon the matter of conventions in the year following the sensational end of Shays' Rebellion, says, "This practice is said to be founded on that article in the bill of rights 'in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give instructions to their representatives; and to request of the legislative body, by way of addresses, petitions or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer.' Many, however, have supposed that the sense of this article extended only to town meetings which are known to the laws. And, indeed, to construe it in the most latitudinary sense, might tend in practice so to divide the sovereign power of the

people as to make the authority of the laws uncertain, and distract the attention of subjects; especially in a republican form of government where all power is delegated." (History of Insurrections in Massachusetts. Second Edition, p. 24.)

How many an illustration of that confusing and subversive tendency was given in conventions of the period under consideration! Take for example one of the diatribes of Samuel Ely as reported, "that he did then and there wickedly declare that the Attornies, Sheriffs, and all Officers should be sacrificed, that Major John C. Williams should be made a sacrifice of and his body should be given to the Fowls of the air and to the Beasts of the field."

In the height of presumption reached, a convention was attempted which might rival even the General Court in authority and power.

Still, in all our consideration of this momentous period, it must be borne in mind that the general conditions were harrowing to an extreme and well-nigh unendurable degree. Minot viewing them at close range appreciated them as it is hardly possible for us to appreciate them at a remove from them of a century and a quarter, and in the vastly changed conditions which now exist. With charitable forbearance he declares:

"From the short view which we have taken of the affairs of the Commonwealth, sufficient causes appear to account for the commotions which ensued. A heavy debt lying on the state, added to burdens of the same nature upon almost every corporation within it; [he means of course civic body, county and town] a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation of manners and a free use of foreign luxuries (by the few who could command them); a decay of trade and manufactures; a prevailing scarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other; are evils which leave us under no necessity of searching further for the reasons of the insurrections which took place. We ought not to be surprised to find the people, who but a few years before, upon the abolition of royal government among them, exhibited a most striking example of voluntary submission to feeble authority, now driven into a confusion of affairs, common to all countries, but most so perhaps, to those who have shewn

the strongest ardour in the pursuit of freedom." (Insurrections, &c., pp. 27–8.)

The Committee appointed by the Legislature to investigate affairs in Hampshire county consisted of no less illustrious personages than Samuel Adams of the Senate and Artemas Ward and Nathaniel Gorham of the House. They reached Northampton on July 27, and hurried to Conway, where Samuel Ely lived. Delegates from thirteen other towns in the northern part of the county assembled to advise with the people of Conway in relation to the response to be made to the Legislative committee, with the result that all parties at issue united in calling a county convention to meet at Hatfield. Pursuant to that call the convention met August 7 and continued its session for three days.

At a town meeting held at Westfield, Aug. 5, 1782, two delegates to that convention "in order to heal the uneasiness in the County" were chosen, Capt. Daniel Sacket and Lieut. Richard Falley.

It is natural to find that, held under such auspices of constitutional authority, represented by men from the Capital of such dignity, wisdom and influence, the proceedings and findings of that convention were orderly, conservative and reassuring to those who respected governmental authority and desired to have it reasserted and maintained in all parts of the Commonwealth. Sufficient sympathy with the reasonable grievances and consideration for the just demands of the large body of disaffected citizens were shown, not only to prevent them from finding any fresh occasion and ground for grievance, but sufficient also to encourage them to a course of patient forbearance until their wrongs might be righted by orderly and constitutional processes.

Among the fourteen resolutions adopted, the most important issues treated dealt with a more equable distribution of the burdens of taxation; fewer civil officers and reduced salaries; increased economy of administration of government; and immunity from punishment of all engaged in recent disorders except Samuel Ely. They concluded with fervid expressions of loyalty to the authority of State and Congress.

Characteristic observations and comments of Judd in his Diary are too quaint and interesting to be neglected.

He was certainly an original, independent and piquant observer.

"Wednesday 7 set out at 7½. Stopt at Northampton to get Shaved; got to Hatfield by 10½. Put up at Lt. D. Billings. Chose Coll Wells Chairman and Dean O. Smith Clerk. I assisted him in reading. Began upon Business at 3. The committee from the General Court present, and the first question was whether their Commission was Constitutional. We then determined to let every one tell his grievances and adjourned.

"Thursday 8. The Mobb began to tell their Grievances and the [committee] to answer and to give Information. The Day was spent in this way. The Mobbists began to feel themselves more a ground than they expected. The Tories who are spectators in very great plenty do not hold their heads so High as they have done of late.

"Fryday 9. Began where we left off. Afterwards chose a committee to state Grievances to us. Then the Mobb still continued to tell their Grievances but got upon the Shoals long before night. Committee report near Night.

"Saturday 10. Began in the morning upon the Report of the Comttee which consisted of 8 Articles. 3 we passed and the rest we through out. Friends of the Mobb could not get things to their Mind. They [are] Disappointed and Chagrined. What that may produce is uncertain, but 'tis certain that they cannot answer the arguments of the Comttee, or gainsay the facts they asserted. The appearance is that there is more probability of their being still if nothing more. Convention broke up about 6."

Westfield voted in town meeting, Jan. 23, 1783, "not to pay any Rates by Distress until June 1." The vote stood 50 in the affirmative and 40 in opposition. That respectable minority, such in size and such in quality and standing in the community, seems to have felt bitterly indignant against the action taken, and expressed its outraged feelings by having spread upon the records the following deliverance, "We the Subscribers and Inhabitants of the Town of Westfield do hereby enter our Protest against the proceedings and transactions of some of the Inhabitants of sd Town Openly declaring our dissent from sd Vote, Utterly refusing to pay any

cost or Charge that may arise from the Neglect of the Same." Among the forty names appended appear those of "Saml Mather Esq., Col. Wm Shepard, Mr. Saml Fowler, Zach Bush Jr., Col. Dd Moseley, Capt. Dl Sacket, Russell Dewey, Capt. Jho Gray, Doct. Whitney, Mr. Jho. Ballantine, Doct. Isl Ashley, Lieut. Falley, Dn Joseph Root, Bohan King, and Abel Whitney."

An attempt to reconsider the vote failed on Feb. 3 and again a few days later.

It was also voted not to indemnify the town constables for penalties which might result from that original vote.

There is no record of any action of the town relative to the four conventions held during 1783, which indeed were less generally representative of the county at large than preceding ones.

Jonathan Judd, Jr., was at one of them held at Hatfield in March, where thirteen towns were represented by delegates. He says of it: "We were good Natured, had no disputes, very reserved. They want to get rid of Major Hawley and myself. Near night we set off, leaving all the rest." Being rid of them, the Convention proceeded to vote to pay no taxes to the State and adjourned to meet at Hadley, Apr. 15. Judd says of that later meeting: "They felt feeble and fearfull. They begin to know the County are not with them and they must try to pay Taxes. Truths are told them more plain than they have been and they feel them since aid is not likely to come from New York."

It was during the month of May, on the first day for holding the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace at Springfield, that the first and only overt act of 1783 occurred in the county. The incident is described in the issue of the Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser of May 27: "On Tuesday, being the day on which the general sessions of the peace and the court of common pleas opened in this town, a banditti collected from obscure corners of the county, composed of men of the most infamous character, to the amount of about sixty in number, met in this town to prevent the sitting of the court. * * * They showed no disposition to attack the courts in the forenoon; at two o'clock they met at a public house in the town, and resolved them-

selves to be a convention of the county met together for the purpose of redressing grievances; after having passed several important resolves they adjourned their convention to the elm tree near the court house; when the bell rang for the court, they, in hostile parade, armed with white bludgeons cut for the purpose, marched before the door of the court house, and when the court, headed by the sheriff, came to the door, with insolence opposed their entrance; the sheriff in mild tones of persuasion, addressing them as gentlemen, desired them to make way.

"His civility was repaid with outrage, and an action soon commenced; happily there was a collection of people friendly to the government present, and the mob was repulsed with broken heads. A number of them were instantly taken and committed to prison; after which, by a regular procedure, they were brought before the court of sessions for examination, and were bound to appear before the supreme court."

The Court House in Springfield stood opposite Meeting-House lane, now Elm Street, on the east side of Main Street, where Sanford Street now enters it. The elm tree under which the rioters met stood a couple of rods south of the Court House on the same side of the street.

As symptomatic of the financial state of the generality of the people at that distressing period, it is a notable fact that a great part of the time and discussion of many of the town meetings in Westfield during those years was directed toward possible methods of collecting taxes. It was a matter of the utmost difficulty, year after year, to get men to serve as constables. At each annual March meeting many persons were elected who absolutely refused to serve and paid the sizable fine imposed for such refusal.

When it is remembered that at the close of the Revolution the State debt of Massachusetts amounted to £1,300,000, besides £250,000 due to officers and soldiers, and that the State's proportion of the federal debt was no less than £1,-500,000, it is evident that taxes must have been an awful burden upon an impoverished people. The towns also owed war debts of their own incurring for bounties of soldiers, for military supplies, as well as for current expenses.

The Massachusetts Gazette in 1784 published the follow-

ing, which also appeared in papers in New York and elsewhere, showing the popular conception of burning questions then at issue: "A Shorter Catechism. Q. What is law? A. A servant to the rich and a taskmaster. Q. What are courts of justice? A. Executioners of the law. Q. What are lawyers? A. Rods of corruption. Q. What is patriotism? A. An hobby horse. Q. What is political good? A. Moral evil. Q. What is liberty? A. Licentiousness unbridled. Q. What is independence? A. Dependence on nothing. Q. Do we enjoy it? A. Yes. Q. Who gain'd it for us? A. The army. Q. How shall we reward them? A. Cheat 'em. Q. Who loaned us money? A. France and Holland. Q. How shall we pay them? A. Laugh at them. Q. What is gratitude? A. Disposition to repay benefactors. Q. What is public gratitude? A. Forgetfulness of benefits. Q .What is public credit? A. Soldiers' notes at 30 per cent discount. Q. What is taxation? A. Much ado about nothing. Q. What is excise? A. Great cry and little wool. Q. What is computation? A. The Devil."

The following doggerel was also current:

"No lawyers are fond of fees,
Nor clergy of their dues;
Few people at the plays one sees.

"Our Congress! Heaven defend us all!
I'll nothing say about them;
For they are great and I am small,
So must jog on without them."

Being questioned as to the truth of his implications, he adds:

"How think you so, my honest clown?
Then take another sight on't;
Just turn the picture upside down,
I'll fear you'll see the right on't."

The general popular distress is indicated by the fact that for several years over ninety per cent of the taxpayers of Springfield worked out their highway tax instead of paying it in currency.

Green cites the case of Noah Copley of Westfield, who in

1783 allowed his note for £4. 17s. 5d. to John Worthington to go to protest. The latter secured judgment with £1. 9s. 2d. in costs, "That is to say, to use round numbers, a man owing $24.00 had to pay $7.00 for the privilege of having the sheriff sell $24.00 worth of his goods." Elsewhere he says, "Writs of creditors almost confounded the courts, and the legal profession and the sheriffs were a byword and a hissing. The passing of the 'Tender Act' of 1782, by which neat cattle and other specified property could be offered to satisfy executions for debt, opened the door for greater irregularities. A war between rich and poor was precipitated, and the judgment debtor and the judgment creditor crossed swords. More people were in debt than out of debt, and a good authority says that from 1784 to 1786 every fourth, if not every third, man was a defendant in writs of execution in Massachusetts." (Springfield, p. 308.)

Because lawyers were instruments of legal procedure against the debtor classes they were abused and denounced as enemies of society, refused the honor of election to offices of town and State, and in other ways treated spitefully. Many of them who had been eminent as members of the General Court were not returned in 1786, while their places were occupied by men greatly inferior in education and ability. Because the lawyers had profited by the misfortunes of the poor, they were regarded as rogues, rascals and thieves, and to them was attributed the largest share of the ills under which the country groaned.

A popular clamor arose for a new issue of paper currency by the State, mere fiat money which has always hastened in use to prove itself worth no more than the material on which it was printed. After all the distresses that the people had experienced from that nefarious delusion, they insisted repeatedly in successive conventions and by appeals to the General Court upon being allowed to try the fatal experiment yet again, in the self-deluding hope of getting relief thereby from some of the burdens which crushed them. They were on the verge of general bankruptcy, and cherished the absurd fancy that by a new inflation of the currency they might be restored to ease and prosperity.

The series of conventions went merrily on, in a succession

as endless as that of Banquo's ghosts, though Westfield seems to have tired of sending delegates. Pursuant to letters from sundry persons in Pelham, then the place of residence of Shays, a convention assembled at Hatfield, August 22, where fifty towns of the county were represented. A special town meeting met at Westfield, elected General Shepard Moderator, and took up the only other article in the warrant, "To take into consideration the contents of a Letter directed unto the selectmen of Westfield signed by Caleb West, Chairman of Deligates from eight Towns; requesting a County Convention to be holden at Col. Seth Murrays in Hatfield on Tuesday the 22d day of Augt Instant; & act thereon as shall be thought most advisable."

It was voted not to take the letter into consideration, and the meeting was dismissed. That convention continued in session for three days, having at first voted itself constitutioned as was customary.

The shrewd plotters in the convention spent three days in vociferating harangues against existing order, supported the smug resolution, and confidently waited for the hotheads to execute their cherished designs. One of the three justices of the Court of Common Pleas which was thus defied was Samuel Mather, Esq., of Westfield.

The weapons of the mob consisted variously of muskets, bludgeons and swords. A martial spirit was stimulated by drums and fifes played from time to time until the mob dispersed at midnight. As for the conduct of the rabble, it was said that it was marked with "less insolence and violence, and with more sobriety and good order than is generally expected from such a miscellaneous crowd bent on such an unlawful errand."

Judd comments, "All is again afloat. No law, nor order. Prison full of criminals, but none can be punished. Monarchy is better than the tyranny of the mob. Tories appear with pleasant Countenances others with long Faces. * * * What the consequences of these things none can tell. Destruction seems to await us."

Governor Bowdoin was startled by the account of these lawless proceedings, menacing the very foundations of the Commonwealth, the more appalling because the overt action

in Northampton was repeated by a mob of 300 insurgents in Worcester during the succeeding week, and at about the same time a mob prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas at Great Barrington. All over the State there was discontent, with bitterness, defiance of authority and treasonable speech.

The Governor issued a vigorous proclamation calling upon all citizens, and civil, judicial and military officers to oppose such outbreaks, to repress mob violence and bring the insurgent leaders to justice. He called for a session of the Legislature to open on October 18, but later amended the order and summoned it a month earlier.

It was during the autumn months of that year, 1786, that the two men who became the most conspicuous and authoritative leaders in the subsequent events began to exert themselves earnestly to shape public opinion by tavern oratory and then to organize and drill their adherents. Both men had served creditably as officers in the Revolutionary War. Luke Day, of West Springfield, said by Holland to be "one of the strongest and most dangerous and persistent of the insurgent leaders," entered the army as captain, served through the whole war, and returned home at its close a major by brevet, but distressingly poor. He had considerable mental ability, though uneducated, and marked forcefulness as a popular speaker. His favorite place of resort was the old Stebbins Tavern, and his most prominent henchmen were Adj. Elijah Day, Benjamin Ely and Dan Ludington. He declared to a gaping audience that "Liberty is for every man to do as he pleases, and to make other folks do as you please to have them." The definition must have been just as gratifying to the lawless crowd as though couched in correct English.

He secured quite a following, and acted daily as drillmaster on the West Springfield common, his motley battalion having been armed at first with hickory clubs and been marked by a sprig of hemlock which each redoubtable champion of liberty wore in his hatband.

Daniel Shays was one of the many Americans of Irish ancestry who proved themselves sturdy patriots during the Revolution, but his name has been stigmatized by having

a rebellion historically attached to it. He was born in Hopkinton, Mass., in 1747.

Trumbull, quoting from the Judd Mss. now in the Forbes Library, Northampton, gives an account of him supplied by Judge Hinckley, who came from Brookfield to Northampton in 1781:

"Shays and a man named Cutler (afterward Gen. Cutler) lived as hired men with Mr. Hinckley's father at Brookfield for two years preceding the Revolutionary War. Both men were smart, active men, and received £16 ($53.33) per annum, when the common price was £15 ($50). Shays had much taste for the military, and the boys were in the habit of assembling with wooden guns and swords, and Shays would exercise them. Mr. Hinckley had often marched in that company. When the company of minute men were formed in 1774, Rufus Putnam was captain, and Shays and Cutler were sergeants. They had no bells and no cannon in Brookfield, and all alarms were given by conch shells. The day after the battle of Lexington the shells were sounded, and Captain Putnam's company soon marched. Captain Putnam was speedily promoted to the rank of major, and Shays and Cutler became officers in a short time. Shays continued in the army till 1780, when he had the rank of Lieutenant. When Lafayette came over he brought a large number of elegant swords which he gave to the subordinate officers of the army. Shays received one of them, but as he had a good one already he sold the one given him by Lafayette. This excited the indignation of his company and of the officers of his regiment, and an outcry was made about his meanness in selling the gift of Lafayette. The officers refused to associate with him, and talked about trying him by Court-Martial for his base conduct. He resigned and came home much incensed against the other officers and even against Washington. He was a disappointed man. The people of Brookfield censured him, and even his father-in-law, Capt. Daniel Gilbert, whose daughter he married after the war commenced, blamed him, and made severe remarks about his selling the sword. He remained in Brookfield a few years and then removed to Pelham.

"On election day, in May, 1786, Colonel Porter's regiment

met in Hadley and Shays appeared at the head of the Pelham company. His activity and his officer-like appearance excited admiration, and were the subjects of much conversation." (History of Northampton, Vol. II, p. 492.)

Shays is said to have been "conspicuous for bravery at Bunker Hill and Stoney Point and present at the surrender of Burgoyne."

In the Hallowell Journal, the author, who was in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth regiment, Gen. Nixon's brigade, Ezra Newhall, Lieutenant Colonel, says that Shays was in his regiment, "in three years service and respected as a very good officer, was very good to his men." (Quoted in "Lynn in the Revolution," Howard Kendall Sanderson, p. 180.)

Shays' commission as Captain in Gen. Rufus Putnam's 3d Massachusetts Regiment was dated Jan. 1, 1777.

The Conkey tavern in Pelham and the Clapp tavern in East Amherst were favorite resorts of Shays.

Holland, in comparing the two men as far as known, says, "It was more the result of accident than any other cause that Shays had the precedence, and the fortune to make his name infamous by association with the rebellion in which he was engaged. Day was the stronger man, in mind and will, the equal of Shays in military skill, and his superior in the gift of speech."

It was in September, 1786, that Shays first came out into the open with a force which he had mustered to commit a glaring act of insurgency. The lower courts had been interrupted in several places, but hitherto the Supreme Court had not been molested. That august body was to assemble in regular session in Springfield, Sept. 26. Cognizant that plans to interfere with it were maturing, Gov. Bowdoin ordered out the militia of Hampshire County under command of Major Gen. William Shepard of Westfield. In the three and a half years which had elapsed since the completion of his service in the Continental army he had not forgotten the art of war which he had been learning and practicing for so many years. He was no carpet knight but a tried and seasoned veteran, ready to march forth again at the call of duty, and the rebels had abundant reason to show him far more respect than they actually accorded him. But desperate defiance of authority,

civil and military, and irreverence toward personages greatly superior to them in ability and character, were prominent features of their lawless game.

The troops began to gather on Saturday, Sept. 23, and 150 of them took possession of the Court House well armed, officered and equipped.

The following order is preserved among the Shepard papers in the Westfield Atheneum:

"Springfield, Sep. 25, 1786.

"Sir: I am suspicious that Col. Gideon Burt has through business and hurry forgotten to send any orders to you to bring on your Company to Springfield on Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock. I therefore request and command you as you value the blessings of Constitutional Government & the peace and security of society, to assemble the men in your Company and march them, both Train band and Alarm list to the Court House here by nine o'clock tomorrow morning completely armed and with three days rations.

I am, sir, your humble servant
William Shepard Major Gen'l
4th Division

"Lieut. Abel Chapin
Chickopee."

There was need of the utmost diligence and haste in collecting forces to sustain the government and resist the mob which had gathered in great numbers and which was continually being augmented by fresh arrivals from various quarters. Chief Justice Cushing, and Justices Sergeant, Sewall and Sumner were in attendance, and by the time that the Court convened fully a thousand troops were under arms to furnish needed protection from the mob. The insurgents considerably outnumbered them although inferior in equipment and officers. There were many veterans in both camps, while, however, many of the insurgents had been gathered haphazard without having had any experience of martial drill or discipline. On the other hand it is said that more than one company sent to reinforce the militia marched boldly and bodily into the ranks of the insurgents. Affairs surely were decidedly mixed, so much so that many spies and many

timid citizens carried about their persons both a sprig of hemlock which was the rebel badge and a piece of white paper used by the loyal party, and put one or the other on his hat according to circumstances. The action of the remote town of Rowe two months later shows that the spirit of incertitude and confusion had not then abated, for "being Repeatedly Requested to Join in the Dispute between the Court and those called the regulating party" and not being able to decide between them, it was recommended that as many as "can conveniently march" should proceed to Springfield and, having informed themselves, "join that party as they shall Judge to be in the right of the cause, they acting entirely for themselves in that matter."

Shays and Day acted together, and spent much time in drilling and haranguing their forces. All were chagrined to find the Court House pre-empted by government troops. The rank and file were eager to make an attempt to carry it by storm, but the leaders were too wary and prudent to permit such a rash course, appreciating the general inferiority of their adherents.

The Court was regularly opened, but could accomplish no business because of the absence of the grand jury, some of the members of which felt that their duty lay in the line of defending the Court House and judges, even though thereby they were rendering nugatory the presence of these officers of the law. It was better to have a portion of the machinery of the law properly geared though turning out no products, than to have all the parts scattered broadcast under the mob's fury.

During the day a message was sent to the Court by the insurgents stating the conditions upon which they would disperse and return to their homes. They demanded that no penalties should be imposed upon the regulators who forcibly prevented the sessions of the Courts in Northampton, or upon those who had gathered in Springfield to interfere with the sessions of the Supreme Court, "that no civil case should be tried unless both parties thereto should be willing," that the militia which had then and there gathered to protect the Court should not be paid for service thus rendered. To these and some other proposals less preposterous the Court

replied with a vigorous denial, which so exasperated the rabble as to make an attack upon the militia imminent.

There followed a complaint that the militia had been insulting in its treatment of Shays' forces, denying them the right to march where they pleased, which was responded to by permission to march anywhere so long as they behaved themselves and committed no acts of violence. Thus encouraged the 1200 insurgents, only about half of whom had muskets, and very few of whom had bayonets, strutted back and forth trying to intimidate the militia, until they wearied of the exercise and were convinced of the falseness of the rumor that the militia had resolved that they should not march past the Court House. It is to the credit of the militia that it calmly refused to take the dare thus insolently flung at it.

Thus matters progressed until the third day of the sitting of the Court, when it adjourned after having decided not to attempt to convene later in Berkshire according to appointment, lest its experience in Springfield might be repeated there. The insurgents in reality had won a triumph, successfully defying the Court to transact its proper business, though technically the Court had maintained its regular sessions. That success drove the insurgents to a frenzy, inflaming them to clamor for an attack upon the government. Shays sent a presumptuous demand to General Shepard to surrender the Court House, but the sturdy commander drew up his men in line to meet an attack, which though threatened was not executed, Shays parading his forces back and forth before the steady ranks of the defenders but doing nothing more.

Finally, having defended the Court House so long as there was any reason for so doing, and having heard threats made of an attack upon the arsenal a half mile east on the hill, General Shepard let the rabble have the Court House while he withdrew his forces to the protection of what was more valuable at that juncture.

Minot, with fine consideration, says: "The condition of the Town of Springfield was truly melancholy during the civil contention. Neighbours were opposed to each other under arms, the houses were rendered the scenes of female distress; and it was in the power of accident only, to have

brought on an action which might have destroyed the lives of thousands, and subjected all property to the immediate vengeance of the party that might have become victorious. After remaining in this situation for four days the inhabitants were relieved by the dispersing of both parties." (Insurrections in Massachusetts, p. 49.)

Judd, less pompously and more naively, tells his story of the exciting days:

"Tues. [Sept.] 26, 1786. 60 or 70 men of the Militia set off for Springfield, very early to support the Government. About 8 I set out, some from Westhampton likewise got to Springfield about 10. Militia at the Court House and the mob above Ferry. About 1 the Mob marched down in order and back; about 900 armed and unarmed. Government upwards of 1000. Court sit in the afternoon. A very sorrowful day. Brother against Brother. Father against Son. The Mob threaten the lives of all that oppose them. Came away about sunset.

"Wednesday, 27. Went with Dr. Woodbridge about 9. Got to Springfield by 12. Lines are drawn with Centuries kept by each party. Looks more threatening than yesterday. Committees from each have met but cannot agree. Court did business in the P. M. our situation is truly deplorable. An alarm about 7; but rest of the Night was Quiet.

"Thursday, 28. Mob threaten much but they are not coming. Those who threaten most do the least. The agreement nearly completed yesterday. Militia march on to the Hill, the Mob march and countermarch through the Town. Militia discharged about 3 P. M. Mob are high yet, not lowered tho lost their vim. I came away about 5; nothing but fire and Smoke where the Mob are.

"Fryday, 29. Militia got home in afternoon."

Besides the government forces mobilized in response to the Governor's order and on duty during the disturbance, an ancient muster roll proves that eighty persons who had arrived from various towns organized themselves into an independent company of defense, chose Gen. Warham Parks of Westfield to act as their Captain, and were armed at the public store. Several Westfield men served in the ranks.

Two official reports, one by Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley,

Sheriff, the other by General Shepard, were forwarded to Gov. Bowdoin on the same day:

"Springfield, September 25th, 1786.

"May it please your Excellency,

"Finding since I saw your Excellency, that the combination for preventing the Supreme Judicial Court from sitting at this place tomorrow were increasing—and that they intended to take possession of the Court House on Sunday, I called upon Gen. Shepard for aid and advice. We judged it prudent to take possession on Saturday night as privately as possible. For that purpose I came here, and with a number of Volunteers belonging to this Town to the number of about forty I took possession of the Court House about ten o'clock in the evening, and about three o'clock in the morning were joined by about one hundred & fifty men from Northampton and about fifty men from Hadley who were ordered by the General for that purpose. They are now on the ground and are resolutely determined in favour of Government.

"General Shepard writes by the Stage to whose letter I refer for further information.

"I have the honour to Subscribe myself—

"Your Excellency's Most Obedt & hble Sert.

"His Excellency Elisha Porter.

James Bowdoin Esqr."

(Mass. Archives, Shays' Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 265.)

"Springfield, September 25th, 1786.

"May it please your excellency—

"From the various movements in this County the inlistments as they are called of a party to obstruct the sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court, by law to be holden in this place, this week, the Sheriff has tho't it his duty to call on me to assist him with the strength of this division. I have accordingly ordered about two hundred men to take possession of the Court House here last Saturday night, which was executed accordingly with great execution & address.

"I have ordered all the remainder of the militia both train band and alarm list to be here to-morrow morning at nine of the clock, completely equiped, with three days provisions, & I have reason to depend on some further assistance, but from

the coolness toward the government which is too general & prevalent, the number & issue must be uncertain & precarious. The number of those who will endeavor to oppose the due course of Justice is uncertain also, but probably will be considerable, yet I cannot but hope we can support the Government in this County.

"I have the honor to be with great respect

Your excellencys Most obedient humble servant.

Wm Shepard

Major General of the 4th division.

"N. B. I have just received intelligence that five hundred insurgents are to be embodied at West Springfield this evening & some say two thousand

His excellency James Bowdoin esq." (Id. p. 266.)

Four days later the following report was sent:

"Springfield, Sep. 29th, 1786.

"May it please your Excellency—

"In my letter of the 25th Instant, I acquainted you that I had taken possession of this Court house here, and expected the Militia to join the next day. I am able to inform your Excellency now of the events which have existed between that and this letter. The Justices and other gentlemen belonging to the Supreme judicial Court arrived, opened, sat, and on Thursday morning adjourned (of their proceedings however your Excellency will have a particular account from them no doubt) and were protected by the Militia, from violent invasion and influence. I had here under my command about eight hundred men, who bore arms, among whom were not less than two hundred of the most respectable and opulent gentlemen of this County, including a company of Volunteers of this town; to arm whom I supposed it absolutely necessary for the protection of the Court, of the town, and of my own Corps, to demand and seize the key of the Arsenal and take

from there two hundred stands of arms. As the Magazine and all the public property appeared to be in danger. I hope this measure, which was very disagreeable to me, may meet your Excellency's approbation and that of the General Court, as those arms were very carefully kept, and returned uninjured. There was a considerable number present who would have taken arms had I judged it necessary. A particular return of all who came here for the support of government from each regiment, I shall transmit to you as soon as it is practicable.

"The number of those who were in this town collected to oppose government with arms, was, by as accurate an estimation as we could obtain, about seven hundred and twenty. Those who had clubs and weapons not under the description of arms, may be called about five hundred. It appears they had sent expresses to all parts of this County, to many parts of the counties of Worcester and Berkshire, and some say into the State of Connecticut for assistance. They were continually receiving reinforcements and threatened to arm themselves from the public Magazine. We finally agreed by Committees of Officers from each party that they should dismiss their men and give a signal, immediately after which I was to dismiss mine, and that all persons were to return home without injuring or insulting any person.

"The Militia were entitled most deservedly to great applause, both officers and soldiers, for extraordinary decency and order of conduct, and for their firmness in vindication of the rights of government. A few companies of the Militia I retained until this morning, but now all are out of town.

"I shall have the honor, probably, to see your Excellency next week, and am, with great respect

"Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

Wm Shepard

Majr Genll 4th Division

"His Excellency James Bowdoin Esq."

More than a hundred men went from Deerfield with the militia to defend the Springfield arsenal. Sheldon says that more than a thousand soldiers were billeted on the townspeople at one time during the movements incident to quelling

later disturbances. He also appends a bill presented for payment for supplies from time to time.

Selectmen of Deerfield to Aaron Marsh Dr.

1787	Jany 5th	To 22 lbs of Powder a 204 d pr. lb.	2 11 4
		To 42 sheets of paper for Cartridges	2 8
	Feb. 5	to 47 gills N. E. Rum De'd Capt Dick his Company pr verbal order	5 0
	Feb. 6	to 3 bushells of wheat at 4s 6d	15 9
		(This line was erased but the figures stand)	
	" 7th	to 48 gills N. E. Rum De'd as above	5 0
	" 23	To 3 galls W. I. Rum De'd Lt Catlin	15 0
			4 14 9

Omitted Jany 18 To pd Jona Hayt for himself sleigh and horse to Cary Troops to Springfield

CHAPTER IX

The Shays Rebellion (*Continued*)

That there were conservative and sane views current amid the radical sentiments so freely expressed at that period of stress and anxiety is evidenced by the following brief editorial comment in the Hampshire Herald of June 20, 1786:

"The scarcity of cash says a correspondent is a general complaint, and it has got to be so fashionable to complain of hard times and the scarcity of money, that debtors seem to think that they have sufficiently satisfied their creditors, if they tell them the times are hard and money scarce. This has so long been the theme, that people almost universally believe it although it is a falsehood. Every generation and age thinks the former days and times were better than the present. This, however, is a mistake, founded on false surmises and vain imaginations. The original principles of human nature are the same in every age, and ever have been since the fall. Times are easy when men do their duty; but when they deviate from that and enter the road of vice and indolence and licentiousness, then difficulties embarrass, and troubles perplex them."

In an editorial in the same journal Aug. 15, 1786, several months before the final outbreak of Shays and his followers, a very sane and fair statement of the existing civic conditions is given, with a protest against the subversion of existing institutions. A quotation from it is worth considering: "One grievance complained of is the weight of taxes! It is granted that taxes are heavy; and it is hoped government will exercise all reasonable forbearance. But though they are a *burthen* we are not sure they ought to be called a *grievance*. They are the unavoidable consequence of a long and expensive war which was undertaken with the general voice of the people, who chose it in preference to an abject submission to the demands of a British Court. When we declared war, we knew it might be long; and if long would certainly be very expensive; and now to complain of those burthens which we agreed to

take upon ourselves, as the easier alternative, is an inconsistency dishonourable to Americans."

The whole article is a dispassionate discussion of painful but inevitable conditions, in striking contrast with the rantings and inflammatory diatribes of the ill-balanced demagogs who fomented the insurrection. Had more attention been paid to such reasonable consideration of public affairs, the Commonwealth would have been spared the disgrace of men lately patriots in the service of their country, turning into rebels against the authority for which they had wrought and suffered in order to insure its establishment, so speedily lifting the weapons of treason against it.

Hampshire Herald, Sept. 27, 1786.

"Springfield, Wednesday, Sep. 27.

"Eleven o'clock, Forenoon.

"FRIENDS and FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN

"Let us not forfeit the dignity of our natures by attempting to destroy our excellent CONSTITUTION—a constitution, by which our lives and liberties are protected from the ravings of merciless rapine, by which the good order and harmony of society are preserved, in short, by which we are preserved in the full enjoyment of every privilege which can tend to render our lives agreeable or happy. Let us not eradicate fair liberty that venerable tree, that plant of Renown, on whose fruit we subsist, under whose shadow we enjoy security and peace, and thereby run the hazard of incurring the shackles of Tyranny and oppression; but let us make every exertion to support and defend it; let us nourish and cherish it with all possible assiduity, that we may, under an indulgent Providence, long enjoy Peace and Harmony, which are the Basis and Ornaments of Society, and the Foundation of all Public and Private Happiness."

That all appears in large, heavily leaded type, and what follows is in small, unleaded type:

"There are now assembled in this town, about 2000 men, bearing arms; 1200 of which number appear disaffected to the present form of government; and threaten the annihila-

[illegible] of the Court now sitting here, unless they acquiesce with their proposals; which they have sent them. The others are for supporting and protecting it. The judges and other gentlemen of the Court arrived in town on Monday evening and yesterday, at the appointed time, and in the usual manner, opened the Court and proceeded to business;—at nine this morning they again opened the Court; but immediately adjourned the same to three o'clock this afternoon. There are committees chosen from among both parties, who are now consulting what measures to take that shall give most general satisfaction.

"By the last mail from the Eastward we have received an account of the insurrection in the State of New Hampshire, which is as follows: In the year 1785 the Legislature of that State passed an act making every species of property a tender at an appraised value. This was attended with unhappy consequences. The people still thought they were grievously burdened; and to alleviate their load, a convention of Committees, in August last, from about thirty towns assembled, agreed upon, and preferred to the General Court, a long petition setting forth their grievances on account of the scarcity of money, and praying for an emission of paper bills of credit, in which there was no single trace of an idea of redemption, or any one attempt to give the currency a foundation; their great object was, however, to have this paper a tender for all debts and taxes.

"The Legislature soon after formed a plan for the emission of twenty thousand pounds, to be let out at four per cent, and landed security redeemable at a future period, carrying interest at six per cent, to be a tender for taxes for the internal support of the State, and for fees and salaries of the officers of the government. This plan was sent as early as the fourteenth of September to the several towns to collect their minds upon the subject.

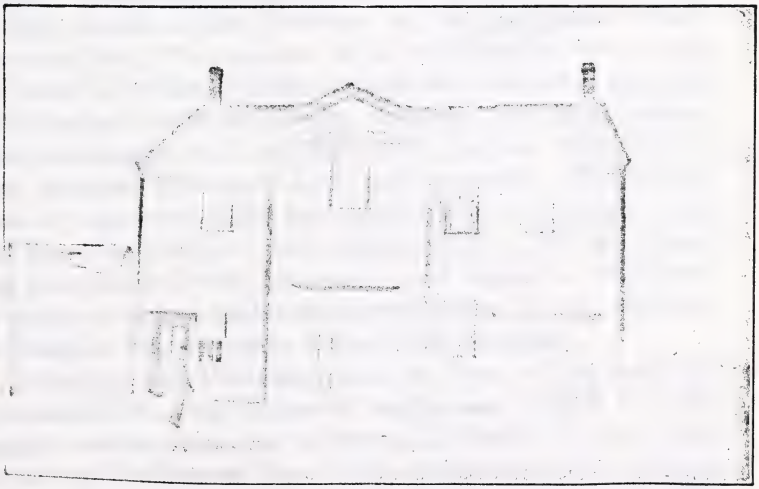
"On the twentieth, at four of the clock in the afternoon, about 400 men on horseback and on foot entered the town of Exeter where the general Court was sitting; about fifty of them, or perhaps more, were armed with muskets, and the others with bludgeons; their principal leader appeared to be one Moses French, a farmer of Hampstead, aided by one

Coffin, a major in the militia, and two or three others; they affected military parade, and had a drum; after they had halted a while, they sent a paper into the House of Representatives, who were convened in the meeting house, demanding an answer to their former petition without delay; it was dated on Exeter Plain, and signed Moses French, Moderator. The President (General Sullivan) considered the petition, and publickly shewed, with a great strength of reasoning, and very coolly, the extreme folly, as well as the very great injustice of the prayer of their former petition, and concluded by saying that no consideration of personal danger should ever compel him to so flagrant a violation of the constitutional rights of the people who had placed him in the chair of government.

"As soon as this speech was made the mob beat to arms, and surrounded the meeting house where the President, the Senate, and the House remained; those of the mob who had muskets were ordered to charge with balls, which command they instantly obeyed. The house proceeded to business as usual without taking any notice of the management at the doors. Centinels were placed at each door, with fixed bayonets, and the whole Legislature were prisoners. After sun set the president attempted to come out, but was prevented by a firm column. Thus they were obliged to remain until a drum was heard at a distance, and a number of them huzzaing *for government.* The mob appeared frighted, some of them began to run; and the Court were permitted to retire to their homes.

"The President then called forth the power of the State, and advanced toward the insurgents, who were drawn up at a tavern in the outer part of the town; there was no conflict; the mob fled; and nothing was to be done but to pick up the prisoners. A number fled and made a stand at a Bridge. General Cilly soon came up with them, rushed in and seized their leaders. One of them ordered them to fire, but government appeared with such force that they dared not to obey; about forty of them were made prisoners and are now in gaol to be tried for treason,—the rest soon fled to their lurking places, from where they must be dragged to an ignominious death unless the clemency of government shall pity and save

DANIEL SHAYS, THE REBEL LEADER.



THE OLD TOWN HALL ON PELHAM HILL.

Erected in 1739 and used ever since for Town Meetings. Two miles east of it, in Pelham Hollow, stood the old Conkey Tavern, favorite rendezvous of the Shays insurgents.

them. By this time there were more than 2000 men in arms; about 300 of them were horse; all ready to make any risque to preserve legal government, & the *due execution* of the *laws.*"

A communication in the Hampshire Gazette of Oct. 4, 1786, addressed "Mr. Printer" and signed "A Regulator," declares the object of the insurgents to be "not a redress of grievances, but a total subversion of the present government. * * * We mean to make thorough work of it, not to put our hands to the plow and look back,—we have advanced so far, and know that there is no safety but in completing the business, and leaving not one stone upon another," and more of like tone, evidencing the anarchistic ideas which he claimed for himself and others to be promoting.

A letter under date of Hadley, Nov. 8, 1786, was sent to all the towns of the county, stating that the convention then in session there had chosen a committee of correspondence with other counties and would report at an adjourned meeting on the first Tuesday of January at the house of Samuel Dickinson, innholder in Hatfield. It was signed "John Billings, Chairman. A true coppy. Attest Sam Pepper Clark." (Hampshire Gazette, Dec. 13, 1786.)

The speech of the Governor to the Legislature which convened Sept. 27 in response to his proclamation, was strong and stern in its denunciation of those who had defied the laws and interfered with the Courts, declaring that such treasonable proceedings could not have been justified even had all their assumed grievances been well grounded. The Senate earnestly approved of the firm stand which he had taken and the measures which he had recommended. But the House was honeycombed with insurgency, and beyond a willingness to suppress violent outbreaks of lawlessness it was reluctant to champion any repressive and punitive measures.

Addresses and Petitions poured in from all parts of the Commonwealth, four items of which were singled out for special consideration, the retention of Boston as the place of holding the General Court; the regulation of the inferior Courts; the burdens of the people due to accumulated taxes and the scarcity of money and the fee-bill, and salaries of government officials.

As a measure for the protection of the Supreme Judicial

Court about to convene at Taunton, the Legislature passed a Riot Act, which "visited upon all offenders who should continue, for the space of an hour, their combinations, after the act was read to them, with the confiscation of their property, the infliction of thirty-nine stripes, and imprisonment not more than one year, with thirty-nine stripes every three months during the terms of their imprisonment."

Though insurgents gathered at Taunton they committed no overt act. A week later a large force of militia insured the sitting of the Court at Cambridge. The action of the Legislature was sufficiently positive and repressive to disturb the insurgents, as is indicated by the fact that the following circular letter was sent to the selectmen of the Hampshire towns:

"Pelham, Oct. 23, 1786.

"*Gentlemen:*—By information from the General Court, they are determined to call all those who appeared to stop the Court, to condign punishment. Therefore, I request you to assemble your men together to see that they are well armed and equipped, with sixty rounds each man, and to be ready to turn out at a minute's warning; likewise to be properly organized with officers. Daniel Shays."

It is a question whether the ground of this presumptuous action was fear for the personal safety of the criminally involved insurgents, or a shrewd scheme for ripening opposition to the government. In either case, worded as the letter was, its effrontery was sublime, even though phrased as a request rather than as an order. Another convention was also appointed.

At a town meeting held November 1, in Westfield, Thomas Noble and Jonathan Lyon were chosen to represent the town at a convention at Hadley the first Tuesday in November in response to an invitation of Benjamin Bonney.

Before the Legislature adjourned, November 18, after a session which had spent nearly two months in discussion of pressing public issues, it had passed three acts for easing popular burdens, which provided for the collection of arrear taxes in specific articles; for making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions and actions commenced

in law; and for rendering law processes less expensive. Besides it was enacted that one-third of the proceeds of impost and excise duties should be appropriated for the exigencies of government.

But while a measure was passed which virtually continued the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and dire vengeance was threatened against those who should attempt to impede the Courts of justice, no other action respecting those already guilty of overt acts of insurgency was taken than to offer indemnity to such of them as should submit to authority according to certain specified terms.

A long address to the people was issued upon which large hopes of improved conditions were based. It entered into elaborate details of the state and federal debts, taxes and expenditures, salaries of officers and their reasonableness at existing rates. Sundry other matters were discussed and appeals for popular sanity, patience and loyalty were urged. It was ordered that the address should be dispersed among the people, and ministers of the Gospel were requested to present it to their congregations on the approaching Thanksgiving day or at a lecture appointed specially for the purpose.

The following order was promulgated through Hampshire County. The original was found among the papers of Gen. Israel Chapin in Western New York:

"Northampton, 5th December 1786.

"General Orders for the Militia of the 4th Division

"Whereas, the Legislature, composed of the Representatives of the good people of this Commonwealth, have, at their late meeting for that purpose, carefully and attentively examined our political circumstances and the various causes, and even pretended causes of complaint among us of late; and have, as far as is consistent with the interest and happiness of the State, complied with the wishes of every one of its citizens; and have among other things prepared and published an accurate statement of all taxes that have been granted, and the sums paid; also the sums that have arisen from the Impost and Excise, and the application of all monies within the State. Also the whole amount of our foreign and domestic debt,

and the particular debt of this State. And have enumerated resources competent to the payment of the whole, accompanied with agreements convincing to all honest and well disposed members of society; and finally have even indemnified all concerned in any irregular or riotous proceedings in any part of the State that none who had acted from mistaken notions of propriety and civil duty, might be precluded from returning to the same.

"Notwithstanding which, there are still persons (so restless and abandoned to all sense of social obligations and tranquility and not improbably influenced by the clandestine instigations of our avowed and most implacable enemies) again embodying under arms to obstruct the course of law and justice, and perhaps by one bold stroke overturn the very foundation of our Government and Constitution, and on their ruins exert the unprincipled and lawless domination of one man. The General, therefore, from a sense of duty and desirous to ward off impending evils, no less than in compliance with orders from his excellency the Governor, once more entreats and even conjures the militia of his division, both Train Band and Alarm List, and indeed, every class of citizens, as they prize their lives, their liberties, their prosperity and their country, unitedly to exert themselves to prevent those ills which must otherwise inure. And all officers commanding Regiments, are hereby requested and commanded immediately with all their effective men of their several regiments to Brookfield in the County of Worcester, and to wait further orders, the commanders of regiments will take care that the men are furnished with arms, ammunition and accoutrements, well clad, and with fifteen days' provisions. The General begs that no little personal or private considerations may take place of the very near regard we all owe our country, but that we may with one mind contribute in our several conditions to reclaim the deluded, bring all high handed offenders to the punishment they so justly deserve, and give not only the present but future generations proof that the peace and dignity of Massachusetts is not to be attacked with impunity. Wm. Shepard, Maj. General."

(Phelps' and Turner's Purchase, Turner. Appendix, pp. 483–4.)

Late in the year, Dec. 4, 1786, General Lincoln sent a letter, preserved by his descendants in Hingham, to General Washington, which was read at the centennial observance of the conflict at the arsenal, in Olivet Church, Springfield, and part of which follows:

"Are we to have the goodly fabric, that eight years were spent in raising, pulled over our heads? There is great danger that it will be so, I think, unless the tottering system shall be supported by arms, and even then a government which has no other basis than the point of the bayonet, should one be supported thereon, is so totally different from the one established, at least in idea, by the different states, that if we must have recourse to the sad experiment of arms, it hardly can be said that we have supported the "goodly fabric,"—in this view of the matter, it may be "pulled over our heads." This probably will be the case, for there doth not appear to be virtue enough among the people to preserve a perfect republican government. * * Failing of their point the disaffected in the first place attempted, and in many instances succeeded, to stop courts of law and to suspend the operations of government; this they hoped to do until they could by force sap the foundations of our constitution and bring into the Legislature creatures of their own, by whom they could mold a government at pleasure and make it subservient to all their purposes; and when an end should thereby be put to public and private debts the agrarian law might follow with ease."

Is it strange that Washington should have been horrified by the receipt of this letter and news of the events which occurred within two months following? He gave vent to his indignation in words which the crisis in the affairs of this Commonwealth makes perfectly explicable: "What, gracious God, is man that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct? It was but the other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we now live,—constitutions of our own choice and making,—and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them!" (Schouler's History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 33.)

At the end of the month in which General Lincoln sent that stirring letter to General Washington, a letter was sent by

General Shepard from Northampton to Governor Bowdoin, under date of Nov. 30, 1786, hardly more than a month before the attempt of Shays to capture the arsenal, in which he says:

"I have ever conceived the General Assembly at their last session did everything they possibly could, and even made some sacrifices in expectation of quieting all who should not be obstinate to conviction, and that they had taken measures not to recede from in any extremity.

"How far I am justified in these conceptions your Excellency will best determine, but since the palliating scheme has failed to produce those effects that were promised, it appears to me of the first importance to know whether any further concessions from government are expected or not.

"I beg leave to suggest whether if the Worcester Court is to be supported, the Assembly ought not previously to meet, if not to give more energy to our operations, at least to remove all occasion of scruple in the most nice.

"As I have mentioned in my letter of the 14th inst. by the stage, I imagine two thousand men with two companies of artillery and one hundred light horse to march first to Worcester from the lower counties, after part or all into this, and so on to Berkshire, will be amply sufficient to crush all opposition. * * Being now on my return from a tour through the whole county I am much encouraged, as I find that the address with other circumstances have fixed the wavering in many instances, particularly in the town of Northfield which voted unanimously satisfied with the doings of the General Court. However nothing will restore order and peace to these counties but superior forces, which I hope will be introduced as soon as possible." (Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series. Vol. VI, pp. 126–7.)

The following address by the Insurgents to the People was issued late in that troublous year:

"It has been considered by the Officers of the several Companies in the County of Hampshire returning from the movement to Worcester met in Consultation at Pelham on the 9th Day of December instant to be a matter of the Greatest importance that the several Companies and regiments in the sd County be Properly Organized and Officered. I am therefore

Directed by a committee appointed for that Purpose, to request you in the name and behalf of the Committee aforesd forthwith to Assemble your Companies to Chuse a Captain and the other Officers Necessary, and make return of the Persons so Chosen to me as soon as may be.

Pr Order of the Committee
Greenfield December 19th 1786
Obed Foot"

(Mass. Archives, Shays Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 297.)

The interpretation put by the insurgents upon the transactions as a whole of that special Legislative session was one of weakness, as is not now to be wondered at, and the response to that deferential and pacific attitude was one of more vigorous defiance and intense hostility. "The leniency of the Government was stamped by the mob as an evidence of weakness and cowardice, and hardly a single individual out of the thousands who had engaged in the insurrection, availed himself of the act of indemnity passed for his benefit."

Within a week after the Legislature had adjourned a body of regulators assembled at Worcester, and when the members of the Court, headed by the Sheriff, approached the Court House, they were defied by a triple row of bayonets. The Sheriff expostulated with the mob, and read the Governor's Proclamation and the Riot Act. While he was addressing the crowd one of the leaders interrupted him, telling him that one of their most intolerable grievances was the Sheriff himself and his offensive fees, particularly in criminal executions, to which he wittily replied, "If you consider my fees for criminal executions as oppressive, you need not wait long for redress, for I will hang every one of you, gentlemen, with the greatest of pleasure, and without charge."

The object of the mob was accomplished, as it had been so often before, and in view of that new defiance of authority the Governor issued emergent orders to the Major Generals of the State to put their several regiments of militia in the best possible condition immediately and to hold them in readiness for instant action. Notwithstanding these preliminaries no regiment was ordered to Cambridge to protect the Courts there. Insurgents from Worcester and Middlesex marched

into Concord under Oliver Parker and were secretly joined there by Job Shattuck, their former Captain. Under warrants issued by the Governor and Council in the last extremity, Shattuck, Parker and Page were arrested without bail or mainprise, Shattuck only after desperate resistance in which he was wounded several times, once seriously.

Shays with a large party rendezvoused at Rutland whence he executed plans of campaign and issued various orders.

Early in December, Day, with above a hundred men from West Springfield, Longmeadow and Belchertown, moved to that neighborhood. A letter from Springfield in the Hampshire Gazette of Dec. 4, 1786, refers to the movement:

"By the best accounts I can get, Capt. Day received orders yesterday by express from Capt Shays to march to Worcester all the men he could raise. He hath spared no pains to collect them. However I expect two-thirds of the men whom he expects will fail him. Perhaps his party from Westfield and West Springfield will consist of 100 or 130 men. The mob party from Longmeadow have this moment arrived, after two or three expresses sent them; but their number is only four poor boys."

The Gazette published also the following:

"An *Address* to the People of the several towns in the county of Hampshire, now at arms—

"GENTLEMEN,

"We have thought proper to inform you of some of the principal causes of the late risings of the people, and also of their present movement, viz.

"1st. The present expensive mode of collecting debts, which by reason of the great scarcity of cash, will of necessity fill our gaols with unhappy debtors, and thereby a reputable body of people rendered incapable of being serviceable either to themselves or the community.

"2d. The monies raised by impost and excise being appropriated to discharge the interest of governmental securities, and not the foreign debt, when those securities are not subject to taxation.

"3d. A suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, by which those persons who have stepped forth to assert and maintain the rights of the people, are liable to be taken and

conveyed even to the most distant part of the Commonwealth, and thereby subjected to an unjust punishment.

"4th The unlimited power granted to Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs, Deputy Sheriffs, and Constables, by the Riot Act, indemnifying them to the prosecution thereof; when perhaps, wholly actuated from a principle of revenge, hatred, and envy.

"*Furthermore*, Be assured, that this body, now at arms, despise the idea of being instigated by British emissaries, which is so strenuously propagated by the enemies of our liberties; And also wish the most proper and speedy measures may be taken, to discharge both our foreign and domestic debt.

"Per Order,

"Daniel Gray, Chairman of the Committee for the above purpose."

While wordy repetitions of grievances and demands which had become wearisome to the law-abiding were being flaunted in the face of the public, a very practical grievance was being experienced by the citizens of Worcester, since Shays had 1000 men billeted upon them, many of whom can hardly be conceived to have been refined and pleasing guests. An amusing incident of their sojourn there is related by Holland, illustrative of the strained condition of the public mind and the consequent ease with which a panic was started.

Several of the insurgents having become violently ill on one evening, the rumor spread that poison had been administered in their drinking water. A quack doctor from Paxton confirmed their suspicions by declaring that a sediment which he discovered on their glasses was a compound of arsenic and antimony. Then it was recalled that some of the mob had purchased sugar for their grog of an anti-Shays merchant in Worcester, and he was charged with a criminal attempt. It was only after a reputable physician had declared the sediment to be Scotch snuff, and the merchant's clerk had explained that he had accidentally spilled some of that article when doing up the sugar, that the excitement was allayed. To strengthen the truce, the suspected merchant treated his accusers with a few gallons of old Santa Croix rum.

The troops already under arms, though so formidable as

an enforced burden upon the hospitality of Worcester, were wholly inadequate to cope with the whole body of militia of the Commonwealth which was completing mobilization. Indeed, Boston already presented the aspect of a state of siege, largely on account of the confinement there of the three insurgent leaders while Shays had so numerous a force within striking distance. A great part of the local militia was kept under arms; several alarm posts were assigned to citizens, guards were mounted at the prison and the several entrances to the town, while the discontented continually spread alarming rumors and voiced hateful forecasts.

A letter from Springfield, dated Dec. 4, 1786, speaks of Shattuck as "amply provided with all the necessaries and conveniences proper for any person labouring under such a wound as he received in his violent and obstinate resistence to the gentlemen who apprehended him." In the issue of January 3 the Gazette speaks of him as having, with Page and Parker, taken the oath of allegiance in Boston.

A communication from Northampton, dated December 27, says:

"We are credibly informed that the renowned Mr. Shays, has been, for some past, so extremely careful of his own preservation, as to keep a constant guard about his person, and also his S E A T in Pelham—and that—Billings, of Amherst, has likewise kept about 30 men on duty to guard him from supposed danger of being taken by light-horse men."

A pretentious plan of enlistment and organization was agreed upon at a meeting held at Pelham Dec. 9, 1786, and a committee of seventeen was intrusted with its execution, no less formidable than the raising and equipping of six regiments of insurgent troops. Capt. Gad Sacket of Westfield was associated with Captain Day of West Springfield for raising the 2d regiment; Captain Shays of Pelham was associated with two others to gather the 4th regiment. Eleven of the seventeen officers named had seen service in the army. It is a notable fact that Springfield had no representative among these doughty champions of liberty and conquest. The conservative element there was strong and influential though many individuals sympathized and acted with the insurgents.

West Springfield, the larger community at that period,

differed widely from the parent town across the river in its general spirit, largely due to the rantings and activities of Luke Day.

The covenant into which the insurgents who formally enrolled themselves entered as the basis of their organization was phrased as follows:

"We do Each one of us acknowledge our Selves to be Inlisted into a Company Commanded by Capt.—— & Lieut. Bullard & in Cols Hazeltons Regiment of Regulators in Order for the Suppressing of tyrannical government in the Massachusetts State, And we do Ingage to obey Such orders as we shal Reseeve from time to—to time from our Superior officers, and to faithfully Serve for the term of three months from the Date in Witness hereof we have hereunto Set our names—the Conditions of Will Be for a Sargt Sixty Shillings pr Month Copl Fifty Shillings a Month Privet Forty Shillings a Month and if git the Day their will be a Consederable Bounty Ither Forty or Sixty Poonds." (History of Pelham, C. O. Parmenter, p. 373.)

Late in December Shays appeared again in Springfield, and General Shepard with his 1200 men awaiting a summons had not been ordered there to meet him. Heading a rabble of 300 armed men Shays took possession of the Court House, which was a triumph peculiarly gratifying to them in view of their thwarted attempt on a previous occasion.

The affair is thus exploited in the Hampshire Gazette of Jan. 3, 1787, showing an unaccountable deference to the dignity and authority of the Court: "The Court of General Sessions of the Peace and the Court of Common Pleas, by the late resolve of the General Court were directed to be holden at Springfield on the 26th ult. In the morning of that day a number of armed men took possession of the ground near the Court House, with an avowed design to prevent the Justices entering the house. A committee from the insurgents waited on the Justices with a request, that the courts might not be opened, and intimations given that very disagreeable consequences would follow in case of non-compliance, and sentinels were placed at the door of the room where the Justices had assembled. As no Jurors had been summoned, and no business was proposed to be done if there had been no opposition,

except choosing a Clerk, and so no force had been collected or attempted to be collected to support the courts, the Justices present thought it prudent and necessary to inform the said committee that the courts would not be opened at that time. The committee requested an answer in writing; the Justices informed them if they expected a written answer, they must exhibit their request in writing; they retired and soon after produced their written request, of which the following is a copy:

" 'Springfield Dec. 26, 1786.

" 'We request the Hon. Judges of the Court not to open said Court at this time, nor to do any Kind of business whatsoever, but all Kinds of business remain as though no such court had been appointed.

Luke Day
Daniel Shays
Thomas Grover.'

To which the following was returned;—

" 'Springfield, Dec. 26, 1786.

" 'The Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Court of General Sessions of the Peace now assembled at Springfield, in consideration of the opposition made to the opening of said Courts, have determined not to do any business or open the said Courts this term.

Eleazer Porter.' "

A contemporaneous comment upon this outrage is given by Samuel Lyman, a Yale graduate of 1770, an eminent lawyer of Springfield, who served in both branches of the State Legislature, and in Congress from 1795 to 1801. In writing from Springfield under date of Dec. 27, 1786, to Samuel Breck, a merchant of Boston, he says:

"The number of insurgents under arms were about three hundred and more appeared to be constantly flocking in from all quarters. Shays & Luke Day & one Grover of Montague headed this party of mad men. This expedition of theirs was conducted with as much secrecy and precaution as if it was an enterprize of the greatest magnitude and importance,—not more than one hour before these insurgents arrived in town, the Sheriff told me that he had not the least apprehension that the Court would be interrupted by them (altho he knew a number of them were then under arms in West Springfield) and so there were no steps taken to support the

Court; neither did they request any support when they saw the necessity of it; but from prudential motives dispensed with that substantial aid which might have been afforded them, & complyed with the illegal & unjust demands of a pack of villains."

In a detailed estimate of the number of insurgents in each of the Hampshire towns except Springfield sent by Major Shepard to Governor Bowdoin, Westfield and Southwick have thirty-five apiece, West Springfield has sixty, and Pelham and Amherst each has fifty. The aggregate number for the county is nine hundred and seventy. Gen. Artemas Ward's estimate for the three upper counties, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, in a report to Governor Bowdoin, from Shrewsbury, December 16, is that they would assemble thence about fifteen hundred.

An important letter to the Governor from General Shepard affords so intelligent, careful, and detailed a survey of the situation and a line of policy urged upon the government, as to be worthy of quotation in full:

"Westfield, 17th Decemr. 1786.

"Sir,—I am now to acknoledge the honor of your Excellency's letter of the fourteenth instant by Majr Shepard just come to hand. I am aware of the policy of some persons to let the insurgents proceed, presuming that they will undeceive themselves, or precipitate with their own rashness, or that they might be reclaimed with moderate and lenient measures, and in support of such an hypothesis advance that in government as much judgement is necessary to know when to recede as in merchants when to loose, which hypothesis, altho I do not fully admit, I shall not wholly reject.

"But I would beg leave to suggest that it appears unseasonable and ill-timed to either procrastinate or introduce lenient measures untill the government have given proofs of their force and ability, otherwise clemency appears to proceed from inability or pusillanimity, and comes with an ill grace.

"It now appears absolutely expedient to enforce the laws since neither the rashness of the insurgents or the mitigating steps of assembly have been productive of the tranquility that many expected.

"To begin with supporting the Worcester Court, as Your

Excellency mentions, it will be necessary to save the risk of blood that two thousand should march from the lower counties, I should presume, under the command of General Lincoln, whose high reputation would avail greatly in such an expedition.

"From this county and Berkshire I can march one thousand; what number can be raised in Worcester County I am uncertain, but should suppose one thousand, which constitutes in all four thousand which under the command of General Lincoln would be amply sufficient to restore order and peace in a very short time. Respecting supplies I believe provisions can easily be furnished from this county, but spirits and some other articles must be sent from Boston; however, it appears that the bussiness would not require a very long time.

"I shall take early opportunity to transmitt your Excellency further information and more particular plans if coercion takes place, which, should it be the case, a system for supplying the whole ought previously to be concerted, tho I can furnish provisions for the troops of my division if it is best.

"I have mentioned Berkshire above, altho it may not be worth while for them to march, as I can raise one thousand in this county willing to tarry one or perhaps two months in case they should be wanted; however your Excellency will have the opinions of the Generals Lincoln, Brooks, and Cobb capable of better plan than I can be at present, especially at this distance and so little time to weigh the affair.

"I am yr Excellency's most obedt hum. servant,

"Wm Shepard, Majr Genll.

"His Excellency James Bowdoin."

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. VI, pp. 119–20.)

The Boston Chronicle of Dec. 27, 1786, published the following letter from Springfield relative to the exploit of Shays and his rabble:

"There is a stagnation of almost every kind of business among us by reason of the tumults which are so prevalent here. Yesterday we had another visit from the mobility; about 350 men marched in hostile array, with drums beating and took possession of the Court House, commanded by Shays, Day and Grover, in order to prevent the sitting of the court

of common pleas, which by law was to have been held here at that time. This they effected as there was no opposition on the part of the government. It was not possible for the court (as they were surrounded by an armed force and a guard placed at the door of the room in which the judges were met) to proceed to do business. They therefore informed a committee who were chosen by the insurgents to wait on them that they would not attempt to open the court. After which, about dark, the insurgents left town."

The citizens of Springfield were greatly amazed by this act of the insurgents, as the authorities at Boston must have been, since no preparation had been made to forestall it. The indignation was so intense and widespread that a local organization was immediately afterward formed to resist further aggression and maintain public order.

It was while Shays had his headquarters at Worcester that his cause began to seem to him hopeless. The attempt to overthrow the government, to make revolutionary changes in the whole civil fabric, substituting for the Constitution which had been adopted a few years before an entirely different one, of just what pattern he himself had but the vaguest idea, in all probability, his lieutenants and rank and file being even more befogged than he, all that seemed more than could be accomplished by any forces which he could feel confident of commanding, and certainly beyond the reach of such as he had already mustered. His despondent attitude is indicated by the result of an interview which it is said that a confidential agent of the government secured with him.

The officer asked him, "Whether, if he had an opportunity, he would accept of a pardon, and leave his people to themselves?" It was left optional with him to answer the question or remain silent. But he promptly replied, "Yes, in a moment." The officer having reported this answer to the Governor and Council, they empowered him to assure Shays that if he would immediately leave the insurgents, retire to his home, and conduct himself in the future as a law-abiding citizen, he might be sure of protection; and in case he should be convicted he should be pardoned by the Governor and Council. But the commission thus intrusted was afterward returned, there having been found no opportunity to execute it. How differ-

ent would have been the course of subsequent events had the plan succeeded!

The insurgents were in such need of arms and equipment that they naturally turned covetous eyes toward the arsenal in Springfield, for the protection of which the Continental authorities during the later Revolutionary period had maintained a guard. Fearing for the safety of the valuable munitions there stored, a correspondence was entered into by General Knox, Secretary of War, who appealed for the help of the militia.

A letter from General Shepard to him sets forth the danger of conditions then existing, and shows as well the fiery indignation against traducers and traitors which stirred his righteous soul:

"Westfield, December 20, 1786.

"Dear Sir, I addressed a letter to you of the 7th inst. since which time I have had information which alarms me; Our insurgents say that they have a letter in their hands, which they give out they found, subscribed by you and directed to me containing directions for me to remove the artillery arms and ammunition from the arsenal and magazine at Springfield. This or something else has given a new alarm in this town and they have sent out already expresses to every quarter.

"What their intentions are I cannot determine but the report now in circulation is that they do not mean that the arms and military stores should be moved as they intend to keep them under their own command. I would be much obliged to you to give me the earliest intelligence whether you have directed any letter to me since I saw you at Springfield the 3d of October last. If you have sent any letter no doubt it has fallen into their hands, and I shall at least be able to determine whether this new devil is originated by this accident. If you have wrote none since that date I must suppose this alarm has arisen from their own consciences. You are sensible, Sir, that the insurgents are in a desperate situation, they must either carry their point or lose their lives. They have and will no doubt adopt the most desperate measures to defend and support themselves.

"I am surprised they have not seized the arsenal long

before this time and erected their standard at Springfield. I cannot be answerable for those stores, situated as I am without men, money or provisions. I have spent my whole time for three months past opposing mobs and attending the General Court and sending expresses on every occasion when I found it necessary, until I have spent all my money and have no immediate prospect of receiving any reward. In addition to this I have lost eight years hard service to support the lives and property of a set of damned rascals who are daily threatening to cut my throat. I am told they talk of retaliating on me for the captivity of Shattuck and that I am to be sent to the gaol in Great Barrington in the county of Berkshire. Till which time I have the honor to be with much esteem. Your most obedient

humble servant

Wm Shepard."

He had already made application to the Secretary of War for the use of such national property stored in Springfield as might be necessary to equip adequately the militia under his command, and written later to Governor Bowdoin relative to the Secretary's reply and to appeal to the state for supplies denied by the nation.

A final convention in the county was held at Hadley, Jan. 2, 1787, but under a very illiterate president and differing widely in spirit from the long line of its predecessors. Its temper was so mild as to recommend the people to lay down their arms and depend upon the more praiseworthy procedure of seeking redress by petition. To the bolder spirits it seemed so feeble and timorous that they lampooned it in the public prints, and in one instance represented it as the "Robin Hood Club" which had died at Hadley, followed by an elaborate description of its obsequies, the whole a labored and lame attempt at scathing sarcasm.

The Governor and Council, in the absence of the Legislature, having been informed of the latest exploit of Shays at Springfield, though lacking some overt features which might have marked it, were thoroughly aroused to the crisis which was upon the Commonwealth. More vigorous and decisive measures than had yet been employed were essential

to the maintenance of existing institutions. Anarchy stalked grimly across the public domain. The fabric which had been reared at such immense cost of blood and treasure was undermined and threatened with collapse. Only the boldest and sternest policy could save it, and deliver the old Bay State from a doom that would make it a hissing and a by-word throughout the Confederacy.

It was imperative that forces of law and order, which weeks before had been ordered to complete preparations for action, should actually grapple with the great undertaking of repairing the machinery of justice and scattering the hosts which had lifted unholy and treasonable hands for its destruction.

Court was due to convene at Worcester on January 23, and there was danger that the lawless regulators would attempt to interfere with it. As Minot says, "This was to stride over the lines which the government had distinctly marked out for their defence. It might be said to be passing the Rubicon in this contest, and to involve one or other of these consequences, that the whole constitutional powers of the Commonwealth were to be prostrated at the feet of usurpation and conquest, or that the lives and fortunes of the adventurers were to be forfeited for a treasonable attempt against their country."

It would no longer be sane and justifiable to depend on strictly local forces, civil or military, to preserve the peace and maintain governmental functions. The militia, as the ultimate dependence of the Commonwealth, must be employed in strenuous wrestle with the hosts of disorder and directed to any district that should be threatened. The Council therefore resolved that 700 men should be raised in Suffolk, 500 in Essex, 800 in Middlesex, 1200 in Hampshire and 1,200 in Worcester, the whole amounting to 4,400 rank and file, a formidable army in those days and circumstances. Four companies of artillery from Suffolk and Middlesex were to form a part of the force. The several contingents were to rendezvous at three different points, Boston, Worcester and Springfield, according to the districts wherein they were mustered. Major General Lincoln, who was appointed to supreme command, had two special qualifications for the responsible and delicate service demanded: he had an honorable

military reputation and a mild and humane temper, in both those respects resembling his capable subordinate, Gen. William Shepard. It was extremely fortunate that the latter was thus endowed, because upon him fell the necessity of bearing the brunt of the conflict and making the crucial decisions of the short campaign. The execution of the government program, as has been seen, required men, and men required a commissariat, for the best soldiers in the world are no better than fresh conscripts if doomed to fight on empty stomachs. Furthermore, in those days rations consisted of food and grog, as General Shepard insisted in one of his urgent dispatches.

But neither men nor rations could be supplied without money, and there was no Legislature in session to vote it. In the general impoverishment of the State and the great bulk of its citizenship then pressing, the problem of ways and means was emergent. Indeed, the question of raising funds instantly needed seemed as staggering as that of the disciples on the lake shore relative to feeding a multitude about the size of the militia force here required. The place of the resourceful Master was in this exigency taken by some noble and broad minded citizens of Boston who, "from a conviction of the necessity of maintaining good order, and from a consideration of the exigencies of government, voluntarily offered a loan to support the publick cause."

The Commissary General and Quartermaster General were directed by the authorities to use from this loan an amount not exceeding £6000 in meeting necessary expenses. It is pleasing to be assured that the Legislature at its next session provided for the full payment of this timely loan.

While the forces of the militia were gathering, on the 12th of January Governor Bowdoin issued an address to the people of the Commonwealth setting forth with considerable fullness existing conditions, the reasons for recent decisions, and the plans of action put into operation.

"Men of principle, the friends of justice and the constitution, were enjoined to unite, and by their union, if it should be as firm as the insurgents had been obstinate in trampling justice and the constitution under their feet, it was observed, a regular administration of law and justice would be estab-

lished without the horrors of a civil war, which were ardently deprecated, and which the utmost endeavours would be used to prevent. But unless the force appeared, the greatest calamities seemed inevitable." (Minot, Insurrections in Massachusetts, pp. 96–7.)

The decisive action of the authorities, when once thoroughly aroused to the critical state of public affairs, disturbed the insurgents and filled them with concern for the immediate future. Without relaxing military preparations, they sent a petition to the authorities at Boston, stating conditions upon which they would preserve the peace, namely, that state prisoners should be liberated, that the Courts of Common Pleas might be adjourned to the next election, and that a general pardon should be granted to all insurgents. They protested that the petition was devised and presented, not from any fear of death or penalties which might be inflicted for lawlessness, but moved solely by a desire "to prevent the cruelties and devastations of civil war." It was, of course, rejected.

Three days later, January 15, Shays and four other leaders dispatched a document to their various officers throughout Hampshire pressing them to muster their respective commands, fully armed and equipped, with ten days' rations, and that they should rendezvous near Dr. Hind's in Pelham by Friday the 19th inst. It contained also the declaration that "the Governor and his adherents" were resolved to support the Courts "by the point of the sword" and besides "to crush the power of the people at one bold stroke, and render them incapable of ever opposing the cruel power, Tyranny, by bringing those who have steped forth to ward off the evil that threatens the people with immediate ruin, to an unconditional submission, and their leaders with an infamous punishment." (Hampshire Gazette. Jan. 24, 1787.)

Dr. Nehemiah Hinds kept a tavern on Pelham east hill, where the insurgents were summoned to gather by the call of Shays, and there many of them were quartered before the retreat to Petersham. The tavern stood on the site of the present parsonage of the Congregational church in Prescott. The sign of the tavern contained a painting of a horse held by a groom, and was hung on a post set into the bed-rock

in front of the building. The hole into which the post was set may still be seen, about six inches in diameter and two feet in depth.

Two plans were earnestly considered by the insurgent leaders, one involving a movement upon Boston for the release of Shattuck, Parker and Page from confinement there; the other an attempt to seize the arsenal at Springfield and the valuable military stores which it contained as preliminary to the attack on the Capital. It will be recalled that it was on account of the prevision of General Shepard that such a plan was frustrated in the previous occupancy of the city by the Shays mob. Meantime the General had not been unmindful of the danger to that property of the national government which at any moment might become imminent, and had secured orders for its protection from the Secretary of War.

Four days after the Shays manifesto was dispatched to his subordinates, looking toward a concentrated movement upon Springfield, the following orders were issued to General Lincoln:

"Boston, January 19, 1787.

"Sir, You will take command of the militia, detached in obedience to my orders of the 4th instant. The great objects to be effected are, to protect the Judicial Courts, particularly those next to be holden in the county of Worcester, if the Justices of said courts should request your aid;—to assist the civil magistrates in executing the laws; or in repelling or apprehending all and every such person and persons, as shall in a hostile manner, attempt or enterprise the destruction, detriment or annoyance of this Commonwealth; and also to aid them in apprehending the disturbers of the publick peace, as well as all such persons as may be named in the state warrants, that have been, or shall be committed to any civil officer or officers, or to any other person to execute. * * * On these attempts to restore system and order I wish the smiles of heaven, and that you may have an agreeable command, the most perfect success, and a speedy and safe return; and am with much esteem,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

James Bowdoin.

Hon. Major General Lincoln."

Two days later he wrote to General Shepard expressing satisfaction that he had taken possession of the arsenal with so respectable a force, and referring him to General Lincoln to learn about "supplies of beef, bread, rum, forage and fuel." He explains that the money advanced by the merchants of Boston and vicinity was to be used *solely* for supplies, not for the pay of the militia, and suggests that in case of necessity the gentlemen of fortune and ability in these parts would be equally ready to advance money for the same patriotic purpose, but he reckoned without his host as the later desperate appeals of General Shepard, based on his inability to raise either funds or rum hereabouts, show. The Governor concludes, "As to the arsenal at Springfield it is expected that you defend it at all hazards; the particular measures for that important purpose must be left with you as exigencies require."

In response to letters from General Lincoln and General Shepard to the Governor, the Council advised him to give such further orders as should enable him to apprehend all persons dangerous to the public peace and welfare, particularly in the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire where the disturbances were most general and the danger was most imminent.

CHAPTER X.

The Shays Rebellion (*Continued*)

Just at this point, immediately preceding the engagement which proved to be the crucial point of the widespread and long-continued conflict between the established order and the forces of discontent and revolt, it is natural to attempt an analysis of the elements which constituted the lawless forces.

It was a strange and heterogeneous combination of diversified factors. Many people united against the government who differed widely among themselves in their attitude toward specific questions at issue and specific ends sought. The apparently intimate relationship between particular grievances rankling in many breasts, and the various courts which purported to administer justice and correct abuses, led many to wink at high-handed outrages against the duly authorized mechanism of legal procedure, who, but for the aggrieved state of their minds at that epoch, would have abhorred such anarchistic attacks. "The discontented of every class, therefore, united at this important stage of the contest, without much attention to the difference between their several complaints, or their proposed systems of reform. Many who only wished for an alteration in the Judicial Courts were entangled with others who intended, if possible, to prevent the administration of justice in any way."

So those moderate reformers, who wished for some changes in statutes and methods which would relieve undue burdens from the backs of citizens overwhelmed with debt and incapacitated by poverty, were swept away by the tide of insurgency with the extreme radicals who demanded wholesale repudiation of financial obligations and a desperate overthrow of the very Constitution itself.

Tories who had intrigued against, insulted and exasperated the self-sacrificing patriots, now drilled shoulder to shoulder with them under Shays in Pelham and Day in West

Springfield with sprigs of hemlock in their hats and bludgeons or muskets in their hands. Verily, "misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows."

"Thus," Minot concluded, "was formed a chequered but numerous body, some have supposed a third part of the Commonwealth, to aid, or at least not to contend against, the resistance made to the sitting of the courts." He estimated that another third of the population was neutral. If his conclusions were substantially correct it is readily seen that the existing state of affairs was momentously serious, demanding a large amount of wisdom and power in dealing with the menacing forces of disintegration. The times were seriously out of joint, and a skillful hand was needed to articulate them again and restore their functional utility.

On the 10th of January, 1787, warrants were issued by Governor Bowdoin to the Sheriff of Hampshire County for the arrest of the following ringleaders of the insurgents in that county, declaring "that the enlargement of the above named persons is dangerous to the Commonwealth, its peace and safety."

Capt. Asa Fisk of South Brimfield, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, Luke Day of West Springfield, Capt. Gad Sacket of Westfield, Capt. Aaron Jewett of Chesterfield, Capt. John Brown of Whately, Samuel Morse of Worthington, Capt. Daniel Shays of Pelham, Joseph Hinds of Greenwich, Capt. Joel Billings of Amherst, Obed Foot of Greenfield, Capt. Abel Dinsmore of Conway, Capt. Matthew Clark of Colrain, Samuel Hill of Charlemont, Capt. Thomas Grover of Montague, John Powers of Shutesbury.

Sheriff Elisha Porter announced in his report to the Governor, "Day, Colton, Clark and Brown, jailed,—the others not found." Evidently, Day at least managed to secure his freedom within the fortnight succeeding, wherever he had been incarcerated.

It is a noteworthy fact that the list of names in the schedule above corresponds exactly, name for name, with the Committee appointed some time previously to raise and organize a body of troops composed of six regiments.

Capt. Gad Sacket of Westfield, included in the list, was a son of Daniel and Mary (Weller) Sacket, born April 13, 1748,

and married to Lucy Williams, Feb. 11, 1773, by whom he had eight children, six of them born before this date.

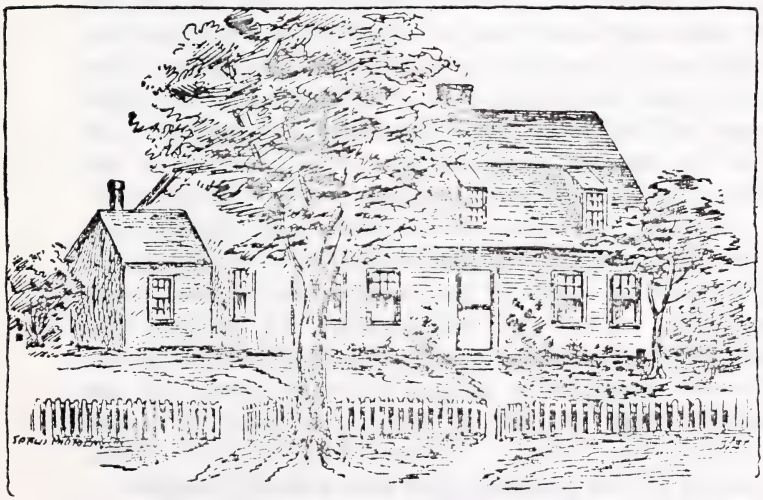
His brother, Capt. Daniel Sacket, was one of the prominent citizens and patriots of the town, who had represented the town as delegate to several of the county conventions called to consider grievances. Gad served several months during 1775 in the defense of his country.

Notorious as Shays became as the chief promoter of insurgency and open rebellion, it is perplexing to study carefully his attitude toward the whole movement revealed by his replies to Gen. Rufus Putnam as fully reported by the latter to Governor Bowdoin, Jan. 8, 1787. They were given in Rutland, and at that time, only about a fortnight before his bold approach to the Springfield arsenal, he insisted that his earnest effort had been to restrain the insurgents from bloodshed; that his name had been signed in his absence by Grover to the order to the Justices at Springfield; that the Committee had ordered forces to march against his wishes; and that he was not nearly as prominent in the general movement as was commonly supposed. It may have been that he wished to mitigate the bitterness of the prejudices against him of the man who had been captain of the company in which he first enlisted and fought at Bunker Hill and elsewhere.

In the early part of January General Shepard did not realize how serious the situation was to become within a fortnight. Indeed, he wrote from Northampton as late as the 12th assuring General Lincoln that two or three hundred men would be ample for the defense of the arsenal, and that he himself with the balance of his command might be spared to march to Worcester to aid in defending the Courts there. He declared, "I can apprehend no danger of so desperate and senseless a measure as burning towns or an attack on unembodied inhabitants; and Springfield, besides containing stores of exceeding great consequence, is in the line of intelligence and perhaps of march, and has buildings to accommodate a considerable part of the men, which are to be found nowhere else in the county." He urged that rum and other spirituous liquors must be forwarded from Boston since very little of such supplies could be found in Hampshire County, and enforced the necessity of providing them by the plea that

GENERAL WILLIAM SHEPARD,

From Trumbull's "Battle of Trenton," now in possession of Yale University.



THE HOUSE OF WARHAM SHEPARD.

In this house his Father died in 1818. It stood on Shepard Street just east of Franklin Street. The General's house was on Franklin Street, corner of what is now Allen Avenue, where the famous Shepard elm tree recently stood.

"the men cannot be kept together, especially in this season, without a daily allowance of spirituous liquors."

During the following week, on the 18th, he took possession of Springfield, and soon found how difficult, and a little later how desperate, his situation was. With about 1100 men to provide for he lacked wholly or partly three essentials, money, supplies and equipment. No funds had been forwarded to him from Boston out of the amount made available by the special loan of the merchants. As already noted he was in pressing need of liquid rations, and his correspondence shows that the forces under him were not adequately provided with arms.

He tried in vain to secure a loan of £2000. On the day after taking position in Springfield he wrote to General Lincoln, "It will be very disagreeable to be defeated by such a wicked banditti when I am guarding the arms of the Union, and command for the purpose of supporting the dignity of the government, when I had no arms to defend myself even from insult."

As the crisis approached there were five different bodies of combatants under arms: General Shepard had about 1200 at Springfield; General Lincoln with some 3000 men was moving from the east toward Springfield; Shays with some 1200 men was on the march from Rutland; Eli Parsons with about 400 had come from Berkshire and taken possession of the north parish of Springfield, now Chicopee; Luke Day with about the same number of well-drilled men and boys held West Springfield under martial law. He had the presumption to arrest, examine and imprison travelers and citizens of Springfield and Longmeadow, two of whom while resisting such outrageous treatment were severely wounded. Ezra Starkwether of Worthington was held in prison two or three days. Gen. Warham Parks and Dr. Paul Whitney of Westfield were seized in their sleighs. Day was the most arrogant and offensive of the leaders at that time. On the 21st Shepard sent an urgent appeal to Lincoln at Worcester for a flying column to follow in the rear of Shays to harass and hinder him.

Shepard's position was truly alarming, cut off on the west by Day, on the north by Parsons, with Shays approaching

from the east. A train of provisions of which he was in direst need was captured by Parsons, and he had but a five days' supply, with no chance to secure more. Lean as his own purse was, he became personally responsible for fuel and forage.

Major Levi Shepard of Northampton was his commissary and Col. William Smith was his quartermaster, each of whom, at his wits' ends, realized that his office was no enviable sinecure. General Shepard, having had no answer from any of five dispatches sent to Lincoln, sent a final one, resolute but pathetic, saying, "If you cannot grant me any reinforcements or relief I shall try to work out my own salvation before it is too late. Shays' and Day's forces are about two thousand strong. Before to-morrow morning I expect the trial will be made to force me from this post. It is no time for delay; your operations must be quick and spirited, or they will answer no purpose. *That man's* party is increasing fast."

General Shepard could not change his position, since it was inexorably fixed by the arsenal which he was pledged to defend. He could simply stand his ground and await the hemming in of the three threatening forces under Shays, Day and Parsons respectively, the aggregate of whom was nearly double that of his command. On the 23d Shays reached Palmer and held a council of war with his officers. Their proceedings were overheard by a friend of the government, and when the decision was reached to hasten to attack the arsenal before Lincoln could unite forces with Shepard, Lieut. Aaron Graves of Palmer hastened to inform General Lincoln of their plans.

On the 24th Shays sent a messenger to inform Luke Day at West Springfield of his intended attack on the arsenal on the 25th, and ordered him to co-operate with him on that day. For some reason the plan did not suit the captain at West Springfield, and he sent back a reply to the effect that he could not attack on the 25th but would be ready on the following day. The messenger returning with this important document was so foolish as to succumb to the allurement of a Springfield tavern which could supply him with a glass of grog and a brief shelter from the severity of the weather. While there he excited the suspicions of some young men who were in

sympathy with the government. They hospitably plied him with liquor till they could search his clothing and possess themselves of his dispatch, and leaving him to sleep off the fumes of his potations, they bore it speedily to General Shepard, thus furnishing him with information of the greatest moment to both himself and Shays.

Copy of the reply sent by Day to Shays:

"West Springfield, Jan. 25, 1787.

"Sir—I have dispatched Capt. Walker with my resolutions, Have ordered Colo. Parsons, to treat with Gen. Sheppard and in case Gen. Sheppard does not comply with the terms, shall put all the troops under my Command in motion to support my demands, precisely 4 o'clock the time is prefixt, But shall not expect them to Come to Action this day.

"To Capt. Shays. Luke Day"

A later letter without date from Shays:

"To Genll Shepherd or the Commanding Officer in Springfield Sir I Desire you to Send my Dead and Wound men by My Flagg So that I can Burye My Dead Men and Take Care of my Wounded if not my Wounded the Dead and Names of the Wounded by Lt. Williams who is the Bearer of this Flagg. I am yours

Daniel Shays Capt."

Having received no intimation of Day's decision, Shays pursued his plan, as he probably would not have done had he been in possession of the intercepted message.

The crowning act of presumption of the whole insurrection was perpetrated by Day, who evidently aspired to play the part of dictator, which indeed may have been evidenced by his cavalier reply to Shays' message. The following ultimatum was sent to General Shepard:

"Head Quarters, West Springfield.
Jan. 25, 1787.

"The body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles of nature, self-preservation,—do, in the most peremptory manner, demand:

"1st That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.

"2d That their arms be deposited in the public stores, under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination of the present contest.

"3d That the troops return to their homes on parole."

On the same day Shays sent a less arrogant but still presumptuous document to General Lincoln wherein he proposed that the militia which he commanded should be disbanded at once, that every one who had taken any part in any act of insurgency should be indemnified in person and property until the Legislature should convene again, and be spared molestation or injury on account of any lawless action, and that all prisoners should be released without further penalty.

The very absurdity of these conditions, in view of the adequacy of Lincoln's force to deal with all the recruits which the insurgents had been able to rally to their standard, is good evidence that Shays sent the communication with no other purpose in mind than to delay the advance of General Lincoln until the rebels could have a chance to capture the arsenal. But undeceived by this knavery, and realizing the hazardous position of General Shepard, General Lincoln hurried forward and sent orders to General Brooks to march with the Middlesex militia to Springfield with all possible speed.

On the evening of the 24th Shays reached Wilbraham and billeted his troops upon the resentful inhabitants. A consultation was held by several loyal citizens, Asaph King, at that time deputy sheriff, Dr. Samuel F. Merrick, Deacon Noah Warriner, and Col. Abel King, to decide upon the best way of notifying General Shepard of the proximity of the enemy.

Holland says: "It was at last decided that the job belonged to the sheriff. On the 25th Shays moved towards Springfield, when King mounted a splendid young horse that stood saddled in his barn and started him across the fields to the 'stony hill road.' The snow, knee-deep to his horse, was covered with a crust, and he was obliged in some instances not only to break a path for his horse but to pull down or leap fences. When he came out upon the road the legs of his horse were streaming with blood. He was far ahead of

Shays, and spurring on reached the arsenal in forty-five minutes from the time he left Wilbraham. From him Shepard learned all the particulars which he had not before known, and ascertained that the force of Shays was on the march." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, pp. 263-4.)

It was not, however, until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that Shays appeared on the Boston Road.

General Shepard was prepared for Shays with all his force except a detachment posted on Main Street about where the Boston & Albany railroad now crosses it on an elevated grade, as a defense against any possible advance of Day or Parsons.

One of the officers whom General Shepard sent to warn the approaching hordes had been an associate of Shays in the Massachusetts line. In their interview the officer claimed to be acting in defense of his country, to which Shays replied, "then we are on the same side." "We shall take very different parts, I imagine," retorted the messenger, to which Shays rejoined that "the part he should take was the hill on which the arsenal stood." To another messenger Shays boasted that he should lodge in the barracks that night. The messenger warned him that if he undertook it he would lodge either in heaven or hell, he did not know which, but he hoped it would be heaven.

The events which immediately followed are clearly described in the official report made by General Shepard to Governor Bowdoin, which is justly characterized by James Russell Trumbull as "altogether the best description of the fight that has come to hand." It is certainly the fullest and most accurate account of that decisive skirmish, showing marked ability on the part of the writer, whose school education had been interrupted so early in his life, and showing also the fine humanity and tenderness of heart of the man who had been a soldier through two long wars, which would naturally have blunted his gentler sensibilities. That humanity was still further exercised in the staying of his hand from bloodshed as soon as the decisive blow had been struck.

"Springfield, January 26, 1787.

"Sir—The unhappy time has come in which we have been

obliged to shed blood. Shays, who was at the head of about twelve hundred men, marched yesterday afternoon about 4 o'clock toward the public buildings in battle array. He marched his men in an open column by platoons. I sent several times by one of my aids and two other gentlemen, Capts. Buffington and Woodbridge, to him to know what he was after or what he wanted. His reply was he 'wanted barracks, barracks he would have and stores.' The answer was he 'must purchase them dear if he had them.'

"He still proceeded on his march until he approached within 250 yards of the arsenal. He then made a halt. I immediately sent Maj. Lyman, one of my aids, and Capt. Buffington to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal on his peril as I was stationed here by order of your excellency and the secretary-at-war for the defense of the public property; in case he did, I should surely fire on him and his men. A Mr. Wheeler who appeared to be one of Shays' aids, met Mr. Lyman after he had delivered my orders in the most peremptory manner and made answer that that was all he wanted. Shays immediately put his troops in motion and marched down rapidly near one hundred yards. I then ordered Maj. Stevens who commanded the artillery to fire upon them; he accordingly did. The two first shot he endeavored to overshoot them in the hope they would have taken warning without firing among them, but it had no effect on them. Maj. Stevens then directed his shot through the center of the column. The fourth or fifth shot put the column into the utmost confusion. Shays made an attempt to deploy his column but in vain. We had one howit which was loaded with grapeshot, which when fired gave them great uneasiness. Had I been disposed to destroy them, I might have charged upon their rear flank with my infantry and the two fieldpieces and could have killed the greater part of the whole army within twenty-five minutes. There was not a single musket fired on either side.

"I found three men dead on the spot, and one wounded who is since dead. One of our artillerymen by inattention was seriously wounded. Three muskets were taken up with the dead which were all deeply loaded. I enclose to your excellency a copy of a paper sent to me last evening.

"I have received no reinforcements yet, and expect to be attacked this day by their whole force combined.

"I am, sir, with great respect, your excellency's

"Most obedient, humble servant,

"Wm Shepard.

"His excellency, James Bowdoin Esq."

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, p. 137.)

The paper to which he refers in the latter part of his report was the impudent demand of Luke Day which has been cited already.

The names of the four victims of that day's folly were Ezekiel Root of Gill, whose body was claimed by his brother Solomon on the following day; Ariel Webster of Gill, whose brother William claimed the body; John Hunter of Shelburne; and Jabez Spicer of Leyden. One more man, Jeremiah McMillen of Pelham, was wounded and missing.

An interesting incident of the attack on the arsenal concerned a small boy who afterward became a prominent citizen of Pittsfield. One of the commanders of the Hampshire militia was Major Solomon Allen of Northampton, who had important business transactions with drovers from Philadelphia. He was in that city when the critical condition of affairs in this region rendered it imperative for him to hasten home to attend to his military duties. His eight-year-old son was with him, and they reached Springfield in time to take part in the action against Shays. During the encounter, the little lad, made conspicuous by his suit of red broadcloth, sat upon a horse in the rear of the government troops. Greatly excited by the firing of the cannon, the youngster rose in his stirrups, and in his childish treble shouted out a hearty cheer, which so delighted the troops that they took it up with prolonged shouts of loyalty for their cause and admiration for their youthful ally. In mature life he was Hon. Phinehas Allen, the founder of The Pittsfield Sun.

The routed insurgents pressed helter-skelter forward until they reached Ludlow, about ten miles distant, and on the following day effected a junction with the force under Eli Parsons at Chicopee.

A personal impression of the affair at Springfield is given

by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap in a letter to Ebenezer Hazard, written at Boston, Feb. 2, 1787, a week after the attack upon the arsenal:

"Now for politicks. The interposition of divine Providence in favour of the Continental Arsenal at Springfield is worthy of notice. You will see by the papers how the force of the insurgents was divided. *Shays* had written to *Day* that he would make an attack on *Shepard* Thursday P.M., at 4 o'clock, on one side, and desired him to attack at the same moment on the opposite side. Their united force was superior to Shepard, and by dividing his attention they might have succeeded by a *coup de main*. Day wrote an answer that he should not be ready for the attack till Friday, but would then commence it at the same hour P.M. This letter of Day's was intercepted and brought to Shepard. Shays advanced at the time *he* had appointed, expecting a co-operation, but found the whole force of Shepard directed against him alone, and retreated.

"When Lincoln's troops were crossing Connecticut River to West Springfield, the sheriff *read the Riot Act*. Whether the insurgent guard on the shore *heard* this animating lecture, is uncertain, but on *sight* of two pieces of the *ratio ultima* they took to their heels.

"The two armies, by the last account, were within ten miles, *sending messages*. I suspect that Lincoln is too much fettered by his instructions. The General Court are now coming together, and, if they do not increase his embarrassment, it will be well. They ought to *declare*, what everybody knows to be a fact, that a rebellion exists, and then to 'let loose the dogs of war,' who, from the animation they have already discovered, will soon seize and worry those ravening wolves. This expedition is supported by a loan to Government from the merchants of Boston and the other sea-ports. £5000 was subscribed here in about a week. From your former connexion at Jamaica Plain, I think you must know John Tyler; he is adjutant-general under Lincoln, and led the van at West Springfield meeting house. He advanced within pistol-shot of the enemy before they gave way. I hear he has made prize of Luke Day's sleigh and pair of horses. These insurgents appear to be governed by an enthusiastic

frenzy. They intended to arm and equip themselves out of the Continental magazine, to subsist by plundering the country, and to pay themselves out of the Boston Bank. Was there ever a scheme so romantic? Is not their attack on the arsenal a declaration of war against the United States? and ought not Congress to take them in hand, if this Government should fail of its duty? They appear to be far more dangerous than the Ohio Indians, against whom the United States are sending a force. Let us have peace at home before we engage in war abroad!" (Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. II, Fifth Series. Belknap Papers, Part I, pp. 453-4.)

In this account there will be noticed several important and interesting details not included in any other which has been cited.

There are three muster rolls preserved at the State House of Captain James Taylor's company of the third regiment in the fourth division of militia, called out from Westfield at different times by General Shepard. The first was for a service of four days "for the support of Government at Springfield, Sept. 26, 1786."

James Taylor, Captain; Moses Dewey, Lieut.; Benjamin Dewey, Lieut.; Pliny Moseley, Lieut.; Frederick Fowler, Sergt.; Ruggles Winchell, Sergt.; Moses Drake, Silas King, David Moseley, Wm Moseley, John Moseley, Gad Palmer, Charles Shepard, Levi Streeter, Jedediah Taylor, and Benjamin Winchell, Privates.

The second includes those who were raised for the defense of the arsenal. They were mustered in Jan. 18, 1787. The first four officers on the list served 23 days, and most of the remaining officers and privates served 21 days.

James Taylor, Captain; Benjamin Dewey, Lieut.; Pliny Moseley, Lieut.; John Campbell, Lieut.; Daniel Green, Sergt.; Frederick Fowler, Sergt.; Ruggles Winchell, Sergt.; Simon Smith, Sergt.; Ashbel Eazer, Sergt.; Silas King, Corp.; Noah Loomis, Corp.; Daniel Lee, Corp.; Peter Harwoud, Drum Major; Eli McEntire, Fifer; Moses Allen, Luis Attleton, Benjamin Barber, Ebenezer Baldwin, Enoch Bush, Edward Bush, Joshua Brooks, Stephen Bartlet, Wm Brown, Warham Cooley, Elias Dewey, Wm Day, Titus Ely, Horrace Ely, Medad Fowler, Joseph Freeland, Chancy Hitchcock, Elijah Harmon,

Martin Holcomb, Reuben Harrison, Warrin Huntly, John Ives, David Lord, Isaac Lyman, David Mosely, Medis Morgan, Elisha Prentice, Abraham Story, Charles Shepard, Isaac Smith, John Stiles, Levy Atwater, Roger Savage, Gideon Shepard, Simon Stiles, Solomon Stephens, Jedediah Taylor, Saml Tiffany, Aaron Wharfield, and Justis Winchel, Privates.

This was sworn to, May 22, 1787, by James Taylor, Captain, before David Moseley, Justice of the Peace, the whole bill thus rendered amounting to £86. 0. 5, for the fifty-four officers and men. The pay of a Captain was £8 per month, that of a private just one quarter of that amount.

The third muster roll covers a service of three days from Westfield to Great Barrington, dated March 25, 1787:

James Taylor, Capt.; Zechariah Bush, Lieut.; John Phelps, Israel Ashley, Silas King, William Ashley, Russell Atwater, and Joseph Tinker, Privates.

It was sworn to by Capt. Taylor, Dec. 12, 1787, before William Shepard, Justice of the Peace. There are a few other Westfield names scattered among several muster rolls. Insurgency and loyalty thus wrestled for supremacy among the citizens of Westfield.

A pay roll of the General and Staff Officers of the 4th Division from August, 1786, to March, 1787, shows that up to that time General Shepard had served 96 days, his pay being a pound a day. It seems most probable that he was in the field enough longer to make his continuous service at that time cover nearly a whole year.

In a detailed account of expenses of "Military Expedition to Worcester in January 1787" many interesting items appear: "6 bbls. New England rum £22. 3 bbls. Brandy, £15.2.2. 9 bbls. Rum £30.3.5. 20 bbls. flour £37.10 2800 lbs. fresh beef, £35. 6 bbls. N. E. Rum £18.1.4. David Devens bill for flanil &c £2.14.11 90 bbls. Rum £290.3.4. 1 Cask of Wine for Gen. Lincoln's use supplied at Worcester £9. Daniel Vose for 1 Rheam paper to make cartridges for cannon £2.8 Jona. Edwards for purchasing rum to wash his wound which he rec'd at N. Hampton—4s.4d. Sundries supplied the General & his family 5.0.9 Sarah Snow for the board of Jona. Edwards & his attendant James Locke—1.16.0 Major Gen. Shepard—32.2.7. Gen. Shepard (for Doc. Mather) 3.15.4."

The account runs from Jan. 10, 1787, to Mar. 18, 1789, the final settlement of claims not having been made until then. The aggregate amount of bills paid is £8273. The Commissary's account for January, February and March totals: "Bread 200432 lbs. Beef 235331¼ lbs. Pork 23509 lbs. Rum & Brandy 6211¾ gals. Beans & pease 707¾ lbs. Potatoes 648 bush. Candles 892 lbs. Soap 731 lbs."

Russell Dewey served four months, Feb. 22 to June 24, 1787, as Lieutenant in Capt. Azariah Alvord's Company, Col. Ezra Bedlam's Regiment.

What effect on Luke Day and his troops was produced by the booming of the cannon on the hill about a mile and a half distant in a straight line across the river, is not recorded. It certainly did not arouse him to investigate its meaning, and by the time reports of what had occurred reached him they must have included news of the precipitate retreat of Shays and his demoralized battalions, rendering impossible any co-operation of the two leaders at that juncture.

The position of General Shepard, though for the time relieved, seemed to him by no means freed from peril. The aggregate of the insurgent forces was reduced by the loss of less than a half dozen men who had fallen in the skirmish, and there were ample grounds for the expectation that in spite of the fiasco of that late afternoon an attack might be made on the next day by the combined force of the insurgents which was still about double his own. General Lincoln was yet a day's march away, leaving the enemy ample opportunity to attempt to retrieve the disaster of the 25th. But for some reason that attempt was not made. General Lincoln finally arrived to relieve the situation on the 27th. "Four regiments, three companies of artillery, a corps of horse and a volunteer corps appeared on that day at noon, and the remainder in the evening. The enemy were found posted as we have described, and Day had placed guards at the ferry house, and at the bridge over Agawam river, so that all communication from the north and west, by the naval routes, was cut off."

General Lincoln felt the necessity of hasty action, and leaving his troops scant time for rest he ordered them forward on the same afternoon, four regiments with four fieldpieces crossing the river upon the ice while the Hampshire forces

under General Shepard were sent up the river on the east side to prevent a junction between Shays on that side and Day on the other. The troop of light horse was sent up the river on the ice. Why the larger of the two bodies was ordered across the river, where the enemy had far fewer contestants than the combined force of Shays and Parsons, is explained in General Lincoln's official report to have been due to his purpose to so overawe Day by a vastly superior force as to frighten him to submission without bloodshed, realizing that defensive action would be hopeless.

As the government troops advanced across the ice the guard at the ferry house retreated, and after a slight show of resistance fled with their comrades to Northampton, a few of them having been taken prisoners by the light horse. So feverish was their stampede that, according to Holland, they left their bread and their pork and beans baking in the ovens of the inhabitants and fled by way of Southampton to Northampton, often casting away all impediments to their progress and strewing their path with muskets, knapsacks, and ammunition.

Shays having learned of the rout of Day's forces retreated before General Shepard through South Hadley to Amherst, losing an adjutant who was shot through the blunder of his men, supposing that their own rear guard was the van of Lincoln's army. They foraged for food among the inhabitants as they hurried onward. From the house of Major Goodman in South Hadley they took two barrels of rum, sundry articles of furniture and bed clothing, besides breaking windows. It really seems like an act of poetic justice upon the Major for withholding such an ample supply of rum from General Shepard's troops while parched before the arsenal a few days earlier. Other houses also were looted by the desperadoes.

With this complete collapse of the organized rebellion, conditions became so favorable to the government as to justify the dissolution of the body of Middlesex militia, which to the number of 2000 had marched into Worcester county on the way to reinforce the governmental troops in Hampshire.

The advance of General Shepard, which had begun at two o'clock in the morning, General Lincoln having joined him later in the day, was continued until, arriving in Amherst,

it was found that Shays had pushed on to Pelham, whither Day had preceded him, passing over from Northampton with numbers reduced from 400 to 240 men. Information reached General Lincoln at Amherst to the effect that ten sleighloads of provisions from Berkshire had also pressed on to Pelham for the use of the insurgents. Having interdicted any further supply from Amherst, General Lincoln retired to Hadley to secure shelter and rest for his troops. On the morning after reaching there word was brought to him that some of General Shepard's men had been captured at Southampton and that a considerable force of the enemy was in control there. Colonel Baldwin with the Brookfield volunteers to the number of fifty, in sleighs, with a hundred horsemen under Colonel Crafts, were dispatched thither to find that the insurgents numbering about eighty had gone westward in ten sleighs. They were followed to Middlefield where they were quartered for the night. The pursuing party reached there about midnight, and fifty-nine of the rebels, with one Ludington their captain, and ten sleighloads of provisions, were captured. The conquerors returned next day, with the proceeds of their successful venture, to the army at Hadley.

The following letter was sent from Hadley on Jan. 30, 1787, by General Lincoln, to Captain Shays and the officers commanding the men in arms against the government of the Commonwealth:

"Whether you are convinced or not of your error in flying to arms, I am fully persuaded that before this hour, you must have the fullest conviction upon your own minds, that you are not able to execute your original purposes.

"Your resources are few, your force is inconsiderable, and hourly decreasing from the disaffection of your men; you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and in a situation in which you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfort to the supporters of good order and government,—

"Under these circumstances you cannot hesitate a moment to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach and apprehend the most influential characters among you. Should you attempt to fire upon the troops of government, the consequences must be fatal to many of your men,

the least guilty. To prevent bloodshed, you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms, surrender themselves to government, and take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy. If you should either withhold this information from them, or suffer your people to fire upon our approach, you must be answerable for all the ills which may exist in consequence thereof."

Shays sent the following reply on the same day:

"Pelham, January 30th, 1787.

"To General Lincoln commanding the government troops at Hadley—

"Sir. The people assembled in arms from the counties of Middlesex, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, taking into serious consideration the purport of the flag just received, return for answer, that however unjustifiable the measures may be which the people have adopted, in having recourse to arms, various circumstances have induced them thereto. We are sensible of the embarrassments the people are under; but that virtue which truly characterizes the citizens of a republican government, hath hitherto marked our paths with a degree of innocence; and we wish and trust it will still be the case. At the same time the people are willing to lay down their arms, on condition of a general pardon, and will return to their homes, as they are unwilling to stain the land, which we in the late war purchased at so dear a rate, with the blood of our brethren and neighbours. Therefore, we pray that hostilities may cease, on your part, until our united prayers may be presented to the General Court, and we receive an answer, as a person is gone for that purpose. If this request may be complied with, government shall meet with no interruption from the people, but let each army occupy the post where they now are.

"Daniel Shays, Captain."

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, p. 335.)

The next day three of the insurgent leaders delivered the following letter at headquarters:

"The Honorable General Lincoln—

"Sir. As the officers of the people now convened in defence of their rights and privileges, have sent a petition to the General Court, for the sole purpose of accommodating our present affairs, we justly expect that hostilities may cease on both sides, until we have a return from our Legislature. Your Honour will therefore be pleased to give us an answer.

"Per order of the committee for reconciliation—

Francis Stone, Chairman.
Daniel Shays, Captain.
Adam Wheeler.

"Pelham, January 31, 1787."

The following brief and trenchant reply was made:

"Hadley, January 31st, 1787.

"Gentlemen: Your request is totally inadmissible, as no powers are delegated to me which would justify a delay of my operation. Hostilities I have not commenced.

"I have again to warn the people in arms against government, immediately to disband, as they would avoid the ill consequences which may ensue, should they be inattentive to this caution. B. Lincoln."

"To Francis Stone,
Daniel Shays,
Adam Wheeler."

In forwarding to the Governor copies respectively of his letter to Shays dated Hadley, Jan. 30, 1787, and Shays' reply, General Lincoln sent also the following letter:

"Head Quarters Hadley Jan' 30th, 1787.

"Dear Sir—Soon after closing my last, I received information that Shays was at Amherst; we moved about two o'clock on Monday morning in hopes that we should overtake him there sometime in the day;—a little after noon we arrived in that town, but not till Shays had retired from it to Pelham, a very strong mountainous country, we then filed off to the left, and took post here & in Hatfield—

"The inclosed paper No. 1 is a copy of my observations

forwarded to Shays this morning by General Putnam, Mr. Cabot & Mr. Cushing, the paper No 2, is his answer which came to hand about 8 o'clock this evening. I have had many applications from towns pretty much in the language of those which have been made to your Excellency & Council; I have given them all the same answer, that I cannot suspend any operations, & if they wish to prevent the shedding of blood, they must apply to Shays to disband his troops—

"He is receiving daily supplies of provision, & some few recruits, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to put an end to such disorders, unless a rebellion is declared to exist. Shays & his abettors, must be treated as open enemies, the sooner it is done the better.—For if we drive him from one strong post to another, he could not be supported in those movements, if he was not comforted by the many disaffected in these counties.

"I hope the General Court will not hesitate, but come to the point at once, & act with that decision, & firmness which in my opinion, a regard to the well-being of the State so manifestly demands."

In a postscript he requests that a few copies of the rules for governing the militia in the field, and a copy of the Constitution, might be forwarded to him.

The disturbances in Berkshire county became so grievous that a force of three hundred men under Gen. John Patterson at Stockbridge on the 29th of January gathered in eighty-four prisoners and still felt obliged to send to General Lincoln for reinforcements, reporting that the "deportment of the Faction in this county against government has induced a kind of frenzy." Three days later, in Hadley, there was an outbreak of lawlessness among General Lincoln's troops and seven of them were sentenced by court-martial to march before the army on parade bearing on their breasts placards on which was printed in capital letters FOR PLUNDERING, their crime having been looting the houses of private citizens.

Nor were conditions in Springfield as secure as could have been desired. Colonel Burt warned General Lincoln that it would not be safe to withdraw the light horse from there, since both east and west of the town there was bitter animosity

against the government. He had discovered that a hundred and twenty armed insurgents were seen on the road between Southwick and Westfield. He found it hard to hold the soldiers at Springfield, since they were impatient to return to their homes. He says, "It is very difficult for me to obtain men who I can confide in to bring & carry Intelligence & horse who will parole Roads."

A Baptist Church was formed in New Salem in January, 1772. It gradually increased until 1785, when it had 38 members. In the winter of 1787 the insurgents marched into the region and on to Petersham. Rev Samuel Bigelow, the pastor, wrote to a friend Aug. 31, 1787: "Church travel and ordinances have ceased here ever since the people took up arms against government; though at present we are better united as to public worship. There is a general good agreement between me and the body of the people about worship. I have said but little about the family quarrel that has been in this Commonwealth the year past; but what I have said has been to condemn both sides. I think the political fathers have provoked their children to wrath, and by oppression wise men have been mad, and the children have been unruly and rebellious." (Backus—History of the Baptists —Vol. II, p. 470.)

The disorderly stampede to the northward of the several bodies of the enemy so changed the aspect of affairs that it seemed perfectly safe to discharge 2000 of the militia, but when Shays made his stand at Pelham it seemed necessary to increase again the government force though the action was soon afterward proved to be unwarranted. The Governor therefore called out 2600 of the militia of the middle counties. It was really impossible to forecast just what power of resistance the insurgents might develop or where their hostility would become violent. It was better to have ample forces in the field if actually needed than to have to await their mobilization after depredations had been committed.

Shays, however, did not tarry long at Pelham, but short as was his stay it was utilized as a chance to frame and dispatch a petition quite admirable in its phrasing but lacking the ring of sincerity and making preposterous demands.

"*Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

"To the Honourable the SENATE, and the Honourable House of REPRESENTATIVES, in General Court at their next Session.

"A PETITION *of the* OFFICERS *of the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire, Middlesex and Berkshire, now at arms.*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners being sensible that we have been in an error, in having recourse to arms, and not seeking redress in a constitutional way; we therefore heartily pray your honours, to overlook our failing, in respect to our rising in arms, as your honours must be sensible, we had great cause of uneasiness, as will appear by your redressing many grievances, the last session; yet we declare, that it is our hearts' desire, that good government may be kept up in a constitutional way; and as it appears to us, that the time is near approaching, when much human blood will be spilt, unless a reconciliation can immediately take place, which same strikes us with horror, let the foundation cause be where it may;

"We therefore solemnly promise, that we will lay down our arms, and repair to our respective homes, in a peaceable and quiet manner, and so remain, provided your honours will grant to your petitioners, and all those of our brethren who have had recourse to arms, or otherwise aided or assisted in our cause, a general pardon for their past offences;—All which we humbly submit to the wisdom, candour and benevolence of your honours, as we in duty bound shall ever pray.

Francis Stone, *Chairman of the Committee for the above counties.*

"Read and accepted by the officers.

"Pelham, January 30, 1787."

That was the document to which reference was made in the communication borne by three officers to General Lincoln on Jan. 31 as noted above. Owing to the disturbed condition of affairs, the Legislature, which should have convened on Jan. 31, did not hold its first formal session until Feb. 3.

In his speech at the opening of the Court, Governor Bowdoin rehearsed with considerable elaboration recent public events and existing conditions, emphasized the fact that he had

sought faithfully to conform to the resolution of the Court of Oct. 24 preceding, which urged him to persevere in his attempts to restore and preserve order in the Commonwealth, and suggested that further means might be employed to discriminate between good citizens and insurgents, "the former as their country's friends to be protected; and the latter as public enemies, and to be effectually suppressed," and insisted that at such a time every man ought to show his colors, take his stand and not vibrate from one side to the other.

The spirit of that session differed widely from that of the body which had met during the preceding autumn. There was no weakness or shilly-shallying in its course relative to the insurgents arrayed against law and order. "Vigor, decision and energy" marked its proceedings. The Senate passed promptly a declaration of rebellion, and the lower House concurred therein. At the same time the clemency and forbearance of General Lincoln toward the rank and file of the hostile forces were warmly approved, while approving also of the positive action of the Governor in dealing with the malcontents, and of the spirited conduct of General Shepard in defending the arsenal and maintaining the authority of the Commonwealth, in a resolve quoted in a previous chapter.

And when, after mature consideration of the petition from Pelham, an answer to it was framed, there was no mincing of matters, or delicate diplomacy on the part of the General Court, with a view either to conciliate the armed rebels or to spare their feelings. It was voted that the petition "cannot be sustained" and seven cogent reasons for such action were urged. Among the reasons cited were the attempt of the petitioners to justify themselves, in part at least; the threat of great effusion of blood in case their plea should not be granted immediately; their avowed purpose of continuing armed resistance to the government unless all who had been in any way concerned with them should be pardoned unconditionally; and finally the fact that so many falsehoods had marked their previous negotiations as to bring under suspicion any promises then proposed.

This reply was not formulated until Feb. 8, and without waiting for a revelation of its character, Shays, on the very day that saw the Legislature convene, withdrew his forces

from Pelham and led them across the hills to Petersham, where it was possible to secure better shelter and more ample supplies for his troops. General Lincoln having heard of the movement at noon of that day, and supposing that it was merely a shifting of camp from one hill to another in Pelham, still being on the alert for anything more serious on the part of the enemy, immediately ordered his army to prepare provisions for three days and to be ready to march at a moment's notice. More definite reports reached him at six o'clock, and two hours later he had his whole command on the move. The conditions, unfavorable at the start, soon became serious, and after reaching New Salem at two o'clock the next morning they became terrible. The cold had been extreme, and the march over the bleak hills had been exhausting, but from then on it was pursued in the teeth of a blinding snowstorm which rendered their progress almost impossible with cannon to be forced through the deepening snowdrifts. There was practically no shelter, and the men could not stop to bivouac even long enough to take needed food and rest. They had no recourse but to keep plodding on amid increasing difficulties and hardships. Their only alternative was to drop perishing by the roadside; even as it was, General Lincoln reports, "the greater part of our men were frozen in some part or other."

The insurgents, snugly quartered beneath the roofs of Petersham, had apparent reason for complacency over the distance separating them from their opponents. When at nine o'clock that morning word was brought to Shays that the advanced guard of light horse had entered the town, no surprise could have been more complete and incredible, since he had no reason to doubt that the government forces were resting comfortably in Hadley and would not move thence for several days. He and the bulk of his followers had only time to snatch their arms and some scant provisions before beginning a wild stampede along back roads toward Athol. General Lincoln in his official report says, after describing some of their hardships: "We approached this town nearly in the center where Shays had covered his men; and had we not been prevented by the steepness of the hill and the depth of the snow, from throwing our men rapidly into it, we should

have arrested very probably one half of his force, for they were so nearly surprised as it was, that they had no time to call in their own parties or even their guards. About 150 fell into our hands, and some escaped but by the most precipitate flight in different directions; but most of their men fled to Athol."

Many of them sought their several homes. The privates who were captured after having been disarmed and taken the oath of allegiance were allowed to depart whither they would.

When all the conditions of that movement through the cold, the storm and the night, over thirty miles of snow-laden paths, are considered, it does not seem strange that an able historian has characterized it as "one of the most indefatigable marches that ever was performed in America."

That heroic effort scattered the forces of Shays permanently; they never reformed under his leadership. Three days later at Winchester, Vermont, only three hundred out of those two thousand followers attended him.

From this time forward, the conditions of the conflict were changed, no considerable number of rebels having united in any formidable resistance to the government forces. They acted in scattered bands at various points, committing petty depredations, disturbing, and in some cases making captives of, loyal citizens, and making themselves generally pestiferous in various communities. The primary task of the government was, therefore, to limit, and as far as possible to prevent, such lawless proceedings. A secondary task, more delicate and hardly less difficult, was to deal wisely but effectively with those insurgents who had been captured, as well as to devise politic measures of treating with those who still eluded arrest. It would not have been safe for the authorities to inflict upon offenders, even such as had been ringleaders in the rebellion, penalties more severe than the sentiment of the better part of the public would have approved. There was still widespread hostility to the government and its regular methods of administering affairs, and it was essential to pursue a policy which would not intensify into bitterness and hatred the prejudices of moderate opponents who were demanding, not the overthrow of the government and the Constitution, but

simply various reforms which might ameliorate hard conditions under which multitudes of worthy citizens smarted. The whole question of disfranchising citizens of the Commonwealth was a new one, full of perplexities and complications. It was not until Feb. 16th that a decision was finally reached by the Legislature, and in view of the fact that it related to political criminals who had been in armed and organized rebellion against the authority of the sovereign state, its terms were less drastic than might have been expected. That decision was actually based on the broadest and most enlightened grounds of public policy, encouraging wrongdoers to cease from their hostility and deterring malcontents who had not yet formally leagued themselves with the rebels from making their opposition open and violent.

The terms of indemnity finally offered to non-commissioned officers and privates were that they should lay down their arms, take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, and keep the peace for three years, during which period they should be debarred from serving as jurors, holding any town or government office; neither should they be allowed to engage in the occupation of schoolmasters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors, or to vote for any civil or military officer within the Commonwealth. Authority was delegated to the Governor to absolve from any or all of these restrictions such privates as had, after bearing arms against the government, taken up arms in its support previously to Feb. 1; and such as had, within three days after its promulgation, voluntarily laid down their arms and taken the oath of allegiance in response to the proposals of General Lincoln dated Jan. 30 and 31.

It was in response to this Legislative Resolve that seventeen Westfield insurgents took action as shown by the following document, recorded on a loose sheet in the town archives:

"A List of the Names of the Several Persons who have taken & subscribed the Oath of allegiance & Fidelity belonging to the Town of Westfield—

"Gad Kellogg, Zebadiah Williams, Jacob Noble Junr., Nahamiah Carter Junr., Ichabod Lee, Ezra Clap &———Gun, Stephen Lee, Ebenezr Williams Junr., Thomas Williams

returned his Gun, Naboth Williams returned his Gun, Army Mein, John White, Nehimiah Carter, John Loomis returned two Guns, William Carter returned Gun, Eager Noble returned Gun, Benjamin Bewell returned Gun.

"Westfield March 26th, 1787

Coram S. Mather Just. Pacis.

To the Town Clerk of Westfield."

The exceptions to the act of indemnity included several classes which it is important to note. Such as had taken up arms without having been citizens of the State; such as had been members of any General Court of the State, or of any State or County Convention, or had held any commissioned office, civil or military; such as had taken up arms again after having laid them down and taken the oath of allegiance; such as had wounded or even fired upon any citizen of the Commonwealth; such as had acted on committees or as advisers or counselors of the rebels; such as in former years had been in arms against the government as officers and later had been pardoned. This last provision was aimed at the Tory element in the rebel forces, though how considerable it actually was we have no means of ascertaining.

This list, quoted above, does not include all the insurgents of the town, though there are no data for the completion of the roll. Gad Sacket's name does not appear, neither does that of Killam whom General Shepard specifies as one of the most notorious offenders. Of the seventeen persons enumerated it is noteworthy that only five of them had served as Revolutionary soldiers: Gad Kellogg, Jacob Noble, Junior, Army Mein, John Loomis, and William Carter, to whom must be added Gad Sacket and Richard Nimocks.

That the former, though proscribed, was not the most culpable of the town's rebels in the estimation of its Major General is evident from an appeal which General Shepard sent to Governor Bowdoin from Northampton, Feb. 21, 1787:

"Sir,—Gad Sacket of Westfield has desired liberty to surrender himself, if he may be admitted to bail. He was appointed one of the committee to organize the militia under Shays, but never knew of his appointment till after he joined him in the course of hostilities. As Noble and Killum of

that town, who acted as his lieutenants, and have in my opinion discovered more malevolent dispositions and more active conduct than this man, you will allow me to intercede that he might be encouraged to surrender himself on that condition, as he has a chargeable family, which is supported by his industry, and the town will be burthened with their support if he is committed. We have some privates in Westfield who are more criminal than Sacket, particularly Ezra Clap and Richard Nimocks, who ought I think to be apprehended."

He proceeds with an account of the experience of Captain Buffington, who went with twenty horsemen to Brattleboro to make some arrests of fugitive insurgents, and though officially supported by the magistrate, met with such opposition, insult and threats of capture and detention by a rabble, some seventy of whom were armed, that he had to return empty handed.

General Shepard also suggests that the Governor should make an immediate example of Parmenter who had killed Walker in Bernardston, and his soldiers who had aimed at the government party but misfired. He also reports the appointment of Mr. Samuel Mather, Jr., as his aid de camp, in place of Major William Lyman who had been appointed Lieutenant Colonel. Captain Buffington's own report of his expedition to Brattleboro to apprehend Luke and Elijah Day is given with ample details and includes an additional report of the Bernardston affair.

On Feb. 15 a warrant was issued for the arrest and commitment "to any Gaol or other safe place within this Commonwealth" of Samuel Noble and Thomas Killum of Westfield.

Copy of Parole given by Shays to a number of those whom he had made prisoners:

"We the subscribers, inhabitants of said county of Hampshire, do upon the parole of honour solemnly engage and declare, that we will not in future take an active part in favour of government against the people who stile themselves Regulators, either by bearing arms, aiding and assisting with provisions, or giving intelligence, or by counsel, or any way,

directly or indirectly, to aid or assist the government troops, or adherence for and during this termination of the present contest between said Government and the Regulators. In witness whereof, we have voluntarily set our names, this 30th day of January, 1787, at head-quarters, Pelham.

"N. B. If an exchange of prisoners should take place, and the under named are exchanged, they are no longer holden by virtue of this paper." (Hampshire Gazette, Feb. 7, 1787.)

The following Proclamation ordering the arrest of the ringleaders of the Insurrection was issued Feb. 9:

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
By his Excellency James Bowdoin Esq. Governour of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—
A Proclamation——

"Whereas the General Court of this Commonwealth did, on the fourth of February instant, declare, that a horrid and unnatural Rebellion and War hath been openly and traiterously raised and lined against this Commonwealth, with a design to subvert and overthrow the Constitution and form of Government thereof—and Whereas it appears that Daniel Shays of Pelham, and Luke Day of Westspringfield, in the County of Hampshire, Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston in the County of Worcester, and Eli Parsons of Adams in the County of Berkshire, have been the Principals in, and Abettors and supporters of this unnatural, unprovoked and wicked Rebellion against the dignity, authority and Government of the said Commonwealth—

"I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of the Council, and at the desire of the General Court, to issue this Proclamation; hereby requiring all Judges, Justices, Sherifs, Grand Jurors, Constables and other Officers, civil and military, and also recommending it to all other good Subjects within this Commonwealth to use their utmost endeavours, for discovering and apprehending the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons and them to deliver to the high Sherif of the County of Suffolk, that so they, or either of them, may be rendered to Justice; and for the Encouragement of such persons as shall apprehend the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli

Parsons, or either of them and deliver them to the Sherif as aforesaid,—It is hereby declared that he or they shall be entitled to receive out of the public treasury for that service a Reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for Daniel Shays, and one hundred pounds each for Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons—and all persons whatsoever are strictly commanded not to harbour, entertain or conceal the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler or Eli Parsons as they will answer the contrary at their Peril and avoid the Penalties in this case by Law provided.

"Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this Ninth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and in the Eleventh year of the United States of America.

James Bowdoin.

"By his Excellency's Command
John Avery jun. Secretary."

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 189, pp. 121-2.)

CHAPTER XI.

The Shays Rebellion (*Concluded*)

The action taken respectively by various towns incident to the discomfiture of Shays and the disbandment of his forces, is interesting as evidence of the diverse attitudes of near neighbors toward the rebellion. Shays had swept down through the town of Granby in the flush of his unholy ambition to defy the government forces and appropriate, for an extended campaign of license, the national munitions stored in Springfield. He had hurried back across its territory, not a conqueror, and not an abject fugitive, which he was to become so soon. A town meeting held there passed resolutions appealing to General Lincoln to restrain pursuit and "prevent awful destruction of Mankind."

A petition from Leverett to Lincoln and Shepard was similar in its tenor, deploring the fact that some, by "a misguided Zeal have fermented, and Kindled Coles of strife the flame of which has slain a Number," hoping for the "interposition of Heaven," and the smile of the "God of Sabbaoth," upon means employed to restore peace. Colrain petitioned Lincoln for clemency, "a most darling attribute when connected with Power and Legal authority," "to insure against cutting off the members of the natural body." The selectmen of Williamstown, with fine judicial discrimination between the respective claims of the contending parties, sent resolutions which on the one hand recognized the necessity and importance of the government, and on the other "the equal importance" of attempting the "Redress of All Grievances of the People."

The appeal to Lincoln of Conway is peculiarly significant, since the town was a hotbed of sedition and defiance. It depicted the results of the civil war in the region as having thrown the people "into a State Little short of that where the offenders against the Majesty of Heaven are Doomed to suffer according to their crimes," and he is asked to lift his "eyes up to him who in the Heavens beholding the Follies of men over-

looks their Crimes and bestows his Favours on the most undeserving."

Green secured the above citations for his History of Springfield from papers cherished by the family of General Lincoln, and adds a protest of the redoubtable commander himself against what seemed to him the excessive severity of the Legislature in dealing with the insurgents.

When the question of pardon for the rebels was under consideration, Samuel Adams, then President of the Senate, opposed it very strenuously, one of his pleas having been that "in monarchies the crime of treason and rebellion may admit of being pardoned or lightly punished; but the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a republic ought to die." Just before the capture of Shays Adams proposed in the Senate that Congress should be informed of the condition of affairs so as to secure help from the Confederation if necessary, but the lower House, through the influence of western members tinctured with insurgency, defeated the measure, using the incredible argument that it was incompatible with the dignity of Massachusetts to allow United States troops to set foot upon her soil. Congress, alarmed at the condition of affairs, had in October preceding called upon the States for a Continental force, but not daring to declare its true purpose said it was for service against the Indians!

The remarkably moderate action on the part of the federal authorities, as we must consider it. was not reached without stemming a tide of determined opposition from various quarters. Petitions poured in from more than a score of towns in favor of the liberation, without further penalty, of all the State prisoners, and some of them went so far as to appeal for the immediate recall and dismissal of the State troops for the purpose of preventing further bloodshed. But the absurdity of that latter plea was immediately emphasized, for while the general question of policy was still under debate, General Lincoln received an express from General Patterson with an appeal for reinforcements on the ground of the obstinacy and malignity of the rebels in Berkshire. General Lincoln had already dismissed three companies of artillery and ordered two regiments to Worcester, because seeming to be no longer needed after the insurgent stampede from Petersham.

In response to that appeal from Berkshire, General Lincoln with his diminished force on Feb. 7 marched from Petersham to Hadley, reversing the movement of that awful night of his forced march after Shays. On the following afternoon he bivouacked in Northampton and thence proceeded through Chesterfield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale, and Dalton to Pittsfield.

General Patterson at the head of 500 volunteers, among them many of the most prominent citizens, had dispersed a party of 200 insurgents under Hubbard at the intersection of three roads in West Stockbridge, greatly aided by the personal appeal of Theodore Sedgwick, afterward a judge of the Supreme Court, who rode boldly without support to the front of the line of the insurgents and urged them as old acquaintances and neighbors to lay down their arms. There was another gathering of insurgents in Adams who scattered at the approach of Capt. William Francis, to assemble again in Williamstown and disperse again when he appeared there.

While Lincoln was marching to Berkshire 250 insurgents collected at Lee for the purpose of preventing a session of the courts, and they were met and opposed by a party of citizens of about an equal number. Peter Wilcox, Jr., was the leader of the outlaws, having his habitation in a log cabin which stood on the present site of the public library building. He is said to have given the order to fire the "cannon" at Patterson's forces in East Lee. According to tradition his men were on Perry Hill and the government party was on Hamblin Hill. The rebels had secured Mrs. Perry's yarn beam, mounted it on a pair of wheels and drawn it back of the house on the hill. A ramrod was flourished and all the motions of loading were made, then while a lighted tar-rope was swung the order to fire was given and Patterson's men beat a retreat. In a subsequent parley the two parties finally agreed that the insurgents should disperse, and in case any of them should be captured General Patterson promised to use his utmost endeavor to have them tried within their own county.

Peter Wilcox, Jr., and Nathaniel Austin were taken, confined and later sentenced to be hanged, but escaped from jail by the aid of saws and women's garments furnished by their

respective wives, who were allowed to visit them. Wilcox hid in a cave for a while and was never again molested.

From time to time traces of the fugitive leaders came to light. In a letter dated Durham, Feb. 13, 1787, Gen. John Sullivan, then Governor of New Hampshire, sent to Governor Bowdoin the following items: "Last evening I received advice from the western part of this State, where I have a gentleman now in waiting who bore my dispatches to the officers in that quarter, that on Wednesday morning last Mr. Shays crossed from Westmoreland in this State over Connecticut River into Vermont; that on Tuesday he beat up for voluntiers in his own party to accompany him to Pultney in Vermont, where he said he would erect his standard, but only three followed him; the residue laid aside their arms and are gone to labor in the neighborhood of Westmoreland for their support. Captain Day with another party remained at Westmoreland on Wednesday evening (his intentions are unknown)." He closed the letter with an assurance of zeal in ferreting out and handing over to the Massachusetts authorities all fugitive rebels wanted for punishment.

Shortly afterward General Lincoln reported to Governor Bowdoin from Pittsfield that Shays and a number of his officers were at Bennington and Shaftsbury and "that they expected to continue some time there & at White Creek, where Shays has a sister, within the State of New York & a little distance from Bennington."

After having returned from his expedition with General Lincoln in Berkshire, General Shepard reported to Governor Bowdoin some results and impressions worthy of consideration.

"Westfield, Feb. 18th 1787.

"Sir,—We returned from our rout in the northwestwardly part of this country to Northampton last Friday evening, after receiving the submission of many people in each town of those who had borne arms or furnished provisions or in any way contributed to annoy the government.

"The most criminal in almost every town have absconded, insolent menaces have been and still are in circulation in those places at least where none of the troops of government have appeared, and inflammatory letters have been handed about

to prevent the evil spirits of sedition and rebellion from evaporating. We expected a forcible opposition in several places where we have been, which probably was really intended by some imprudent and inconsiderate persons. In many places they threaten still to protect, as they would call it, the more considerable fellows of their party. A transfer of real and personal property hath been made in many instances, some who have fled have drove away their cattle, and by various artifices these people attempt to defraud the public of a compensation for their crimes.

"Thus it appears that many of the insurgents who suppose they are unable to cope with the government by force are devising every method to embarrass, to intimidate, to revive the dying spirit of rebellion, and to continue to injure the State as far as is in their power from revenge, from despair and from malevolence. We have taken the arms of these deluded people who were in possession of them; but great numbers left their guns in the course of a lengthy and circuitous flight, as fear suggested the danger of returning to their families with arms. Such are to reclaim and resign them. The greater part of those to whom the oath has been administered appeared to be fully convinced of their foolish and wicked conduct and I believe will not resume their opposition. I have not received any return from the Justices who acted with other detachments of the troops whose operations were under my direction, but the people in general who have not fled into Vermont or elsewhere have taken the oath of allegiance, and have resigned their arms in all those places where the troops of government have passed.

"From present appearances and prospects much decision and vigour will I think be necessary on the part of the Legislature, and this vigour and decision will undoubtedly produce the desired events. Effectually to rivet in their minds a compleat conviction of the force of government and the necessity of an entire submission to the laws, these malcontents must see a considerable force in each of these three upper counties. Removing too soon that force by which alone they have been quelled, before the idea of their inferiority has become familiar and established in their minds, might be productive of pernicious consequences. Five hundred in each of these counties

may suffice, with what force may be raised occasionally of the well affected inhabitants.

"Whether it hath proceeded from the desire of avoiding the payment of the duties of excise solely, or not, the tavern keepers and retailers have generally been very seditious, their houses have been the common rendezvous for the councils and the comfort of these people. A total disqualification for a limited time or for ever of enjoying those privileges ought certainly in my opinion to be the subject of serious discussion with the General Court.

"Nothing very particular as yet hath been communicated from General Lincoln to me.

"I have written a very similar letter to this to the Speaker of the House, and am, Sir, with much respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"Wm Shepard.

"His Excellency James Bowdoin Esq."

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. VI, pp. 142-3.)

That report certainly reveals in General Shepard high qualities of statesmanship, which must be added to other evidences of a similar kind and to his ability as a martial leader in all efforts to make a fair estimate of his character.

General Shepard having returned to the valley made his headquarters at Northfield, where he would be a check upon the rebels who had fled across the line into New Hampshire and Vermont, and might plan incursions thence back across the borders.

On Feb. 16, the day of Captain Buffington's failure at Brattleboro, General Shepard dispatched a small party to Bernardston in order to secure a notorious ringleader of the insurgents, Capt. Jason Parmenter. Jacob Walker of Whately on horseback accompanied the squad. In the eastern part of the town they came suddenly upon Parmenter and two companions in a sleigh. The rebel captain hailed the other sleighload and receiving no reply ordered his man to fire but their priming was wet and their pieces were silent. Then Walker and Parmenter fired simultaneously at each other and the rebel's aim proved deadly. The trio hurried away and had gained such a

start on the pursuers after Walker had been cared for that they were not then followed, the snow being three feet deep. They were captured, however, the next day in Vermont by Captain Buffington and a body of infantry, and lodged in jail at Northampton.

Mr. Walker was buried with military honors at Hatfield. Rev. Mr. Wells of Whately preached the funeral sermon, and Rev. Mr. Williams of Northampton made the prayer. That was one of the few instances of bloodshed in the rebellion which for many months brought men with arms in their hands and animosity in their hearts into conflict. The wonder is that the actual loss of life was so small as to be almost negligible. It is, indeed, inexplicable, and well-nigh incredible.

The terms of service for which the militia had been ordered into the field having expired Feb. 21, and the later detachment not having arrived in great numbers, there was a time when General Lincoln had barely thirty men under his command in Pittsfield, not sufficient to be a competent bodyguard for him against any considerable force of the enemy. But the fact seems to have escaped the attention of the rebels, though they really cherished hopes of capturing him and other prominent personages in the conduct of their guerrilla warfare.

At a sale of autographs, etc., of Dr. Thomas Raffles at Libbies' in New York, Feb. 3, 1892, the following document was included:

"Williamstown, Feb. 24, 1787.

"Col. Parsons is in Stamford with About 150 Men and threatens to make an attack upon the friends of Government in Williamstown this day.

"Col. Thomson J. Skinner.

To General Lincoln."

Two weeks before the final conflict of the rebellion was fought the following circular letter was sent out to the lower towns of Hampshire:

"Berkshire, Feb. 15, 1787.

"Friends and fellow sufferers: Would you now tamely suffer your arms to be taken from you, your estates to be confiscated, and even swear to support a constitution and form of government, and likewise a code of laws which common sense

and your conscience declare to be iniquitous and cruel? And can you bear to see and hear of the yeomanry of this commonwealth being marched and cut to pieces by the cruel and merciless tools of tyrannical power and not resent it even into relentless bloodshed? Would to God I had the tongue of a ready writer that I might impress on your minds the idea of the obligation that you as citizens of a republican government are under to support those unlimited rights and privileges that the God of nature hath entitled you to. Let me now persuade you by all the sacred ties of friendship, which natural affection inspires the human heart with, immediately to turn out and assert your rights. The first that I would recommend is to destroy Shepard's army, then proceed to the county of Berkshire as we are now collecting at New Lebanon in New York State, and Pownal in Vermont state, with a determination to carry our point if fire, blood and carnage will effect it.

"Therefore we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the county of Berkshire and help us to Burgoyne Lincoln and his army. Eli Parsons."

The following official report shows the continued confidence of the rebels, the methods to which they resorted, and the spirit of the loyal portion of the community. A copy of it has been preserved among the papers of the late James Russell Trumbull and has been now offered for publication by their custodian.

"Northampton Feby 27th 1787.

"Sir—I beg leave to inform your Excellency that by official accounts from the State of Vermont as late as Friday last at Brattleborough were seen the infamous characters, Obed Foot, one Gale an aid to Shays, Eli Parsons, Joel Billings, Reuben Dickinson, Genl. John Nash and many others. Luke, Elijah & Thomas Day were at New Marlborough, where they remain under the protection of the rabble raised in the town of Brattleborough and places adjacent, who are to be commanded by one Fosdick, who not long since belonged to the County of Worcester, and was very seditious there. Many of the Insurgents, who have been in arms against the Government, and will not return to their allegiance, are daily joining

those Culprits, who have absconded. There is a letter in circulation in this County, signed by Obed Foot, White & Anderson, the contents of which are to encourage the people to come and join them, and by no means to give up their arms to the force of government, as they will be able with those collected and collecting, with the assistance of Vermont and those coming from Canada for that purpose to defend themselves. The regulators (as they call themselves) give out without the least hesitation that they shall be able to carry their point and overthrow government as soon as Spring opens and the snow is gone. They shall be able, they say, to march in what direction they please, and not be confined to particular routs. Many of the people who have not joined them again, are carrying their arms into Vermont and either deposit them, or make a sham sale of them, for the vile purpose of obtaining them again, in case a favorable opportunity should offer for destroying this government. As I have heretofore observed to your Excellency, they are removing their live stock, household furniture and all the moveable property they have. Some of them are making *conveyance of their real estates.* It appears to me that those insurgents who have fled into the State of Vermont, and those who are disaffected in that State, if they are wholly uninterrupted, will raise a considerable force by the time the Spring will open, which will be very troublesome to the Northwesterly part of this County, and doubtless will murder and plunder unless they are prevented by an armed force. I have also mentioned that the gaols are filled with criminals. I would only suggest to your Excellency, whether it would not be prudent and expedient to have some of those capital offenders tried and executed immediately (if they deserve it) as an example to others.

* * *

"Mr. Perry of Bristol County is in Gaol in this town on warrant.

"I am this moment informed by Mr Shaw of Cummington, a man to be relied on, that Shays, Hinds, and some others were in Pittsburgh Vermont, on the 19th Instant. A certain 'Squire Hamilton of Vermont State was taken at Colerain and is in gaol in this town, for his seditious conduct.

"If your Excellency could forward a few copies of the Militia law you would oblige me.

"I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's
Most obedient humble servant,
Wm Shepard.

"*His Excellency James Bowdoin Esqr.*"
(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, pp. 379-381.)

During the night following Feb. 26, a party numbering eighty or ninety, under Capt, Perez Hamlin, who had been hovering just over the border in New York, entered Stockbridge, pillaged many dwellings and made prisoners of some of the most prominent citizens, and started for Great Barrington early the following morning with their prisoners and booty. Hearing of their advance on Great Barrington some forty of its citizens under two Captains, Elijah Dwight and Thomas Ingersoll, the latter a settler there from Westfield, started in sleighs for Suffield, hoping to co-operate with men there for the common defence, the Great Barrington men taking lead with them to melt up for bullets to eke out their meager supply.

The rebels reached Great Barrington about the middle of the forenoon and regaled themselves upon such household supplies as they could find, while the people in panic hid their valuables, even pewter platters, which were in demand as material for bullets. Soon after noon the Sheffield men under Captain Goodrich moved to join the Great Barrington contingent, the combined body, under command of Col. John Ashley, another settler from Westfield, numbering somewhat less than a hundred. They proceeded in sleighs to look for the rebels, and for a time mistook the road along which they were advancing. Deserting their sleighs as the evening finally appeared they attempted a company formation. There was a hot but brief skirmish, in which two of the rebels were killed, more than thirty wounded, Captain Hamlin among the number, one of whom died sometime afterward, and fifty were made prisoners by the co-operation of Capt. William Walker and a body of troops arriving late from Lenox.

The loss to the militia was two killed, Mr. Porter of Great Barrington, and Mr. Solomon Gleazen, schoolmaster at Stockbridge, who had been taken prisoner there and was brutally

thrust forward by the rebels as a shield from the rain of bullets when the firing began. The wounded man was Hugo Burghardt, afterward a physician in Richmond. He had been seeking recovery from illness at his home on the Stockbridge road, and on that morning had started back to resume his studies at Yale College, but joined the Lenox company under Captain Walker and took part in the pursuit of the rebels. That engagement between the two forces is now marked by a monument on the road between Suffield plain and Egremont, across the highway from the road leading to the Goodale quarries. It bears this inscription: "Last Battle of Shays Rebellion was here, Feb. 27, 1787."

Several amusing incidents of the raid have been sedulously cherished by tradition.

A party of rebels visited the jail at Great Barrington for the purpose of liberating the prisoners. The keeper, Ebenezer Bement, had gone with the company to Sheffield, and the keys were demanded of Mrs. Bement, "a bright black-eyed little woman" who, having unlocked the door, sang to them while they crossed the threshold:

"Hark, from the tomb a doleful sound,
My ears attend the cry,
Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie,"

adding in explanatory warning, which proved well grounded, "for we will have you all in here before tomorrow morning." A party of the insurgents called at the house of Gen. Thomas Ives, who likewise had gone to Sheffield, leaving his wife ill in bed and the house in charge of a spinster neighbor. He charged her that when the expected visit to his house was made by the rebels she should treat them civilly, keep close watch upon them, and try to ascertain who they were. Finding a large hair-covered trunk containing his papers, they insisted upon opening it to search for arms, but the plucky custodian having finally convinced them that it did not contain any, by prevailing upon them to measure its length with one of their own muskets, they committed no further depredations than to satisfy themselves with such viands as the larder afforded, and copious potations of cider which a boy brought up by the pailful from

the cellar. The General returned late in the day, and having learned from his temporary housekeeper the identity of some of his visitors repaired to the jail to look them up. Inspecting the crowd of prisoners he asked who of them had been at his house that day, but every one of them denied the implication. Then the General declared that he knew that many of them had been there, and that in view of the respect which they had shown his property and family he had come to express his appreciation by treating them. Instantly they plead guilty to a man, and he treated them as proposed.

At the session of the Supreme Judicial Court at Great Barrington, held in March, 1787, many of the most prominent rebels were tried, and Nathaniel Austin of Sheffield, Peter Wilcox of Lee, Aaron Knapp of West Stockbridge, Enoch Tyler of Egremont, Joseph Williams of New Marlboro and Samuel Rust of Pittsfield were sentenced to death for high treason; and the first five for the aggravation of murder. For seditious words and practices a citizen of Great Barrington was sentenced to pay a fine of £100, to suffer imprisonment for seven months, and to give bonds of £300 for his good behavior for five years. The death sentence was in no case inflicted.

The ease with which the rebels could elude the pursuit of the militia by taking refuge across the border line of the Commonwealth in neighboring states, and the frequency wherewith such a course was pursued, had a twofold result, the habit not only exasperated the authorities here, but it also spread broadcast the seeds of discontent and sedition. The name of Shays became a slogan of the disaffected in each of the bordering states, north, south and west, and what had hitherto been a local disturbance threatened to become a general uprising of the people against their several governments, with an outreach toward vague and indefinable regions of the Confederacy. It was, therefore, not alone to vindicate the honor and restore fully the authority of this Commonwealth, that the Governor was directed by the General Court to appeal to the Governors of adjoining States for their co-operation in apprehending the fugitive criminals; it had, besides, a wider purpose, no less than the protection of those neighboring governments from the distressing conditions of defiant rebellion and civil strife which had been prevailing so long within our borders.

But in spite of the manifest force of these considerations, replies to neighborly appeals were in some instances gravely delayed, even after several communications had been dispatched by General Bowdoin.

The incursion of Hamlin into Berkshire from beyond its western border was such an overt breach of interstate comity and so defiant of the articles of confederation as to spur the General Court to demand that the Governor take instant and decisive action in the matter. But General Lincoln had already acted, as is evidenced by the following letter published in the Hampshire Chronicle of March 20, 1787, and to good effect:

"New York 4th March 1787.

"Sir—Mr. Williams of Pittsfield arrived in this city on the evening of the 2d inst. with a dispatch from Gen. Lincoln, representing to the Governor of this State the continuance and support which had been afforded to the fugitives from Massachusetts by the people inhabiting a district within this jurisdiction and adjacent to the county of Berkshire, and giving information of the incursion made from this state into that county on the 26th ult. As your excellency will undoubtedly have received official information of this event before this reaches you, we forbear the communication of any particulars on that subject. The intelligence received from Gen. Lincoln was by the Governor laid before the Legislature yesterday morning; and it is with real satisfaction that we now have the honour to inclose to your Excellency a resolution which they adopted in consequence thereof. * * *

"We have the honour to be your Excellency's obedient and very humble servants—

Rufus King
Nathan Dane.

"His Excellency Governor Bowdoin."

A copy of the action of the Legislature follows:

"State of New York. In Senate. March 3, 1787.

"Whereas it appears from undoubted information communicated to the Legislature by his Excellency the Governour, that a number of Insurgents from the State of Massachusetts have fled to the adjacent parts of this state and are there

embodied in arms—Therefore, *Resolved*, if the Hon. the Assembly concur therein, that it be recommended to his Excellency the Governour to repair as soon as possible to the place or places within this State where the said Insurgents shall be, and to call out such military force from the militia of this State, and to take under his command and direction within this State any of the militia or other troops of the State of Massachusetts, and to take such other legal measures as he shall deem necessary and proper for apprehending and securing such of the said Insurgents as shall be found within this State, and for preserving the peace of this State against the designs and attempts of the said Insurgents, their aiders and abettors; and that the Legislature will provide the expense. And further, that the Legislature do consent that his Excellency may on this occasion be out of this State, from time to time, as exigencies may require."

"In Assembly, March 3d. 1787.

"RESOLVED that the House do concur with the Honourable the Senate in the said Resolution.

"An extract from the journals of the Assembly.

John McKesson—Clerk."

Copy of a letter from General Lincoln to Governor Bowdoin:

"Pittsfield, Mar. 9th 1787

"Dear Sir—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that as a result of the inclosed resolve of the Legislature of New York, his Excellency Gov. Clinton commenced his journey for New Lebanon on the 4th inst. On the 7th I met him there; he took lodgings with us at Pittsfield that night; the next morning I accompanied him to New Concord, where were assembled a number of his officers, both civil and military; In a masterly, spirited and animated manner he stated their duty respectively, and urged them to a faithful and punctual discharge of it; his sentiments I think were perfectly just, and many of them may be read in his General Orders.

"Prior to his Excellency's arrival the insurgents were dispersing; his approach increased their alarm, and there does not now remain in that state any considerable bodies of them. The civil officers are directed to call on the militia of that state,

or on our officers for such militia force as they may need in apprehending or dispersing the Insurgents.

"The state of New York are perfectly disposed to serve us, and no person is better qualified or better inclined, to execute their friendly intentions than his Excellency the Governour. The insurgents are making their way into Vermont. I hope that State will adopt such a system as shall prevent any ill consequences from the insurgents finding an asylum within their borders.

"I have the honour of being, dear sir, with the highest esteem, your Excellency's most obedient servant.

B. Lincoln.

"His Excellency Governour Bowdoin."

Decisive action had been taken also across the northern border, as shown by a letter from Governor Chittenden of Vermont to Governor Bowdoin under date of Bennington, March 3, 1787, expressing deep regret that a State for which his own had such high regard should have had "its constitution and form of government struck at and deeply wounded by some of her wicked and ungrateful citizens, and it adds much to the uneasiness that we feel on this occasion to know that the frenzy for insurrection is rapidly spreading in other states, threatening a general introduction of anarchy." He adds assurance that the civil and military authorities of Vermont will co-operate in every possible way with those of Massachusetts to restore and maintain order and preserve duly constituted authority.

On the 11th of March Governor Bowdoin issued a proclamation warning against the purchase of "any real estate from such persons as are, or have been concerned in the present Rebellion; except from such of them as are or shall be entitled to the benefit of an Act passed by the said General Court, on the sixteenth day of February last, describing the disqualifications of certain persons; and except to those to whom indemnity shall have been promised in behalf of the General Court; Inasmuch as such conveyances, if the person conveying such estate should be convicted of Treason, are, and will by law, be considered fraudulent and illegal."

The Proclamation thus proceeds:

"And in further pursuance of the said Resolve, I do hereby

direct the Commanding Officers of the Government troops, in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, respectively, to arrest all persons concerned in the present Rebellion, who shall be moving out of this State with their property and effects, except those who are entitled to the benefits of the Act aforesaid, until such persons shall be acquitted of the imputation of Treason by a due course of law; or until they shall receive in behalf of the General Court, a promise of indemnity by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose."

The Proclamation of Governor Chittenden to which reference has been made strictly commanded and enjoined all citizens of Vermont "not to harbor, entertain or conceal the rebels, Shays, Day, Wheeler and Parsons, or to take arms in support of insurrection."

That they had been guilty of affording to notorious fugitives such countenance and support is evident not only from the official report of General Shepard under date of Feb. 27, already quoted, but also from the following item in the Hampshire Chronicle of a date two days earlier: "We learn that the noted Daniel Shays, commonly called General Shays, recently at the head of the 'government regulators' in this State, is now confined in the common gaol at Bennington, for a debt under ten pounds to a farmer of that State."

His incarceration was based, not on any crime in Massachusetts, but on one committed while granted refuge in Vermont from the clutch of officers of his own State.

Such co-operation having finally been secured from neighboring States, the Governor was directed to inform Congress officially that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, for the purpose of securing federal troops to guard the arsenal at Springfield, in order that the local guard might be relieved. A further request was made to secure the aid of federal troops raised in New York and the States eastward of it in apprehending, and if necessary in destroying, the rebels in any part of the United States. It was still further asked that Congress should commission General Lincoln under the authority of the United States, to employ the Massachusetts forces in any region of the national domain, for the purpose of arresting and bringing to justice the leaders of the rebellion.

This series of official negotiations with authorities outside

of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth is here cited in order to indicate the magnitude and the seriousness of the movement which bears the name of Shays' Rebellion, which is so vaguely understood and so indifferently considered by the generality of people of the present day.

After the most startling menace of organized resistance had been averted by the shattering of its armed battalions, the problem of allotting and administering penalties due to its ringleaders and most violent abettors remained a long and perplexing one. Great numbers of captured insurgents were held in prison charged with varying degrees of criminality. Special sessions of the Supreme Judicial Court were called for the counties of Berkshire, Hampshire and Middlesex, and a regular session was due in Worcester the latter part of April. In order to secure fair and unprejudiced juries a law was passed with a preamble relating to the condition in which many rebels had been pardoned, which forbade their service on juries for three years, and also declaring the reasonableness of providing for the relief of any such as might be unwilling to confess their criminality though they had been guilty thereof, but who wished to avail themselves of the pardon which might be granted: Therefore, it was enacted, "that the selectmen of the various towns to which the venires should be issued for jurors within one year, should withdraw from the jury boxes the names of all such persons as they might judge had been guilty of favoring the rebellion or of giving aid or support thereto, prior to their drawing out the names of the jurors that might be called for by the venires. Provided, however, that if such persons should make application to the town to restore their names to the jury box, and could obtain a vote of the town at any town meeting afterwards to be called for that purpose, to have their names so restored again, the names of such persons should be so restored accordingly."

And in order to prevent those who had been guilty of insurgency from serving as jurors in trials for treason or misprision of treason, it was further enacted that if the attorney for the Commonwealth in any such trial should suspect that any jurors had been involved in rebellion he might call the attention of the court to the fact and secure its opinion respecting the disqualification of such persons.

These sweeping enactments proved so effective as to impede the process of law in some towns because so many of their citizens had been concerned in rebellion as to leave too few to fill necessary offices and perform necessary civil functions. It really became expedient to shield from legal penalty many even of those whose conduct had been very obnoxious. The General Court, therefore, appointed three Commissioners early in March to receive applications from any not already indemnified, and after due inquiry as to their character, penitence and loyalty of purpose, to exercise their discretion in granting to them indemnity, "with or without the further condition of the offender's being bound to keep the peace, and to be of good behavior for a term not exceeding three years."

Four offenders, however, were excluded from the scope of this commission, Shays, Wheeler, Parsons and Luke Day, together with any persons who had killed or fired upon any citizen in the peace of the Commonwealth, the commander of any party guilty of such outrage, the members of the rebel council of war, and any unliberated prisoners against whom the Governor and Council had issued warrants.

The commission thus provided for, consisted of the Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., commander of the army; the Hon. Samuel Phillips, Jr., Esq., President of the Senate; and the Hon. Samuel Allyne Otis, Esq., Speaker of the late House of Representatives.

While thus liberal with those who had not yet been willing to accept of proffered offers of mercy, the General Court purposed to make the execution of justice in cases of extreme heinousness swift and impressive.

That the widespread disaffection and its violent expressions had not been without effect upon existing statutory conditions is evident in changes actually accomplished, in addition to what had been done at the preceding session of the General Court. In response to the widespread popular demand this session was marked by a reduction in the number of terms of holding the Courts of Common Pleas and general Sessions of the Peace in the several counties; a new fee bill lessening considerably allowances to public officers; and the appointment of a committee to inquire whether there were any real public grievances under which the people of the Commonwealth

labored, which reported three such grievances. The subjects concerned the seasonable and prompt payment of interest due on public securities, the need of greater restriction upon the Treasurer in drawing orders and the excessive salary of the Governor.

In the attempt to put down the Shays Rebellion and punish those who aided and abetted it, a case of local interest was that of Abner Fowler of Southwick, the oldest brother of the Hon. Samuel Fowler. The following court record indicates the penalties which he incurred as an opposer of the established order:

"Hampshire s. s. Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"At the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts begun and holden at Northampton within and for the County of Hampshire, on the Ninth Day of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and eighty seven by adjournment to that time from the first Tuesday of the same April by writ in Virtue of an Act by the General Court made in February last past—

"Commonwealth vs. Abner Fowler Seditious misdemeanor.

"The said Abner Fowler is set to the Bar and has this Indictment read to him, he says that thereof he is not guilty, and thereof for Tryal puts &c. A Jury is therefore impanneled and sworn to try the Issue vigt. Lemll Pomeroy, Foreman and Fellow Namely, Jona Clark, Martin Clark, Aaron Fisher, Benjamin Tappan, Joseph Lyman, Simeon Clark, Moses Kingsley, Timothy Mather, Gideon Searl, Leml Coleman, and Josiah White, who after hearing all matters and things concerning the same return their Verdict, and upon their Oath say that the said Abner Fowler is Guilty.

"It is therefore considered by the Court that the said Abner pay a fine to the use of the Commonwealth of Fifty Pounds, suffer Imprisonment for Twelve months, Recognize in £150, with sufficient Surety or Sureties in the like sum for keeping the Peace and being of good Behavior for Five years, pay Cost of Prosecution and committed until Sureties be performed.

"Extract from the Courts Minute Book.

"Att. Chas. Cushing Cler."

There follows in the Archives the

"Petition of Abner Fowler—

"To his Excellency John Hancock Esq. Governour and Commander in Chief in and over the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the Honourable the Council of said Commonwealth.

"Abner Fowler of Southwick in the County of Hampshire, now an unhappy Prisoner in Gaol at Northampton—

Humbly Showeth

"That your Petitioner was convicted at the Supreme Judicial Court holden at Northampton in the County aforesaid in the month of April last past of aiding and abetting in the late unhappy Rebellion tho never in arms against the Government of this Commonwealth, and was sentenced by the said Court, to pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds, to be imprisoned for one year and to find Sureties for Good behaviour for Five Years Your Petitioner is now duly sensable of his unjustifiable Conduct, and is sincerely sorry for the same and hopes & believes his conduct for the future will be that of a peaceable member of Society, That he has Suffered a part of said confinement vigt. for about two months, in a loathsome Gaol; Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays Your Excellency & Honours interposition to exercise those powers vested in you by the Constitution and Grant your unhappy Prisoner a Discharge from imprisonment with a Remission of the Fine aforesaid, and the injoyment of a Free Citizen altho' Justly Forfeited his right thereto; or otherwise order as shall seem most Just and reasonable and your Petitioner as in duty Bound will ever pray

Abner Fowler

"Northampton, June 4th 1787."

(Mass. Archives, The Shays Rebellion, Vol. I, pp. 392-4.)

The clemency of the authorities toward those who had offended thus was shown in this as in many another case. The prisoner was released from confinement, but there was no response to that part of his petition which related to the fine of fifty pounds, which probably had to be paid. There is a tradition in the family that Abner and his brother Silas, who was also involved in trouble due to resistance of governmental authority, were assisted by their loyal brother Samuel to mi-

grate to the Western Reserve and make trial of life in that virgin territory.

The following letter written nine and a half years before the skirmish at the arsenal gives a definite impression of the extreme illiteracy of Shays. It was sent to his old friend at the familiar lounging place:

"Putnam Heighth's June 25th 1778.

"Mr. Conkey, Sir: After my Kind Requist to you I wish to inform that I am well & in good health, hoping that these will find you & your family as well as these leave me. I have wrote to you once before but hearing you have not Rec'd my Letter from me & understand that you have been Drafted with these last men I write to you now for you to inform the selectmen of the town by showing them this Letter that you have hired Jacob Toorell for to do eighteen months service for you on consideration of your paying him ten pounds for that space of time which I saw you pay him the money.

"Thinking that these few lines will be sufficient for to clear you for the present time I thought I would embrace this opportunity to write to you for your Security. Having nothing Remarkable for news & hoping these will find you and yours well I must Conclude.

"Your Friend and Servant,

Daniel Shays.

"To Mr. William Conkey, Tavern Keeper in Pelham."

The grave of Shays was discovered not long since at Sparta, Livingstone Co., N. Y., with a small slate marker rudely inscribed "D. Shays," the work of a late-day friend of his, Samuel Craig, a blacksmith. He died at Sparta, Sept. 25, 1825, aged 85, eight years after General Shepard died. Millard Fillmore, afterward President, visited him late in life, when Shays was old and feeble, and expressed surprise that he should have been able to secure such a following. Shays was a farm hand at Hopkinton, where he was born, and entered the army when he was 30 years old.

During the recess of the Legislature seven hundred and ninety persons accepted the benefit of the commission, and the Supreme Judicial Court convicted of treason six persons in Berkshire, six in Hampshire, one in Worcester county and

later, one in Middlesex, all of whom were sentenced to death. Many besides were convicted of seditious words and practices, among them a considerable number of "persons of consequence, and some of them in office."

Holland in his History of Western Massachusetts gives a detailed account of the persons convicted of the most serious offenses, from which citations will here be freely made:

Those who were condemned to death in Berkshire were Samuel Rust of Pittsfield, Peter Williams, Jr., of Lee, Nathaniel Austin of Sheffield, Aaron King of West Stockbridge, Enoch Tyler of Egremont and Joseph Williams of New Marlboro. Several others were condemned to pay fines and to give recognizance in various sums to keep the peace for from three to five years.

At the session of the Supreme Judicial Court held at Northampton from April 9 to 21, Jason Parmenter of Bernardston, Daniel Luddington of Southampton, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, James White of Colerain, John Wheeler of Hardwick and Henry McCullock of Pelham were sentenced to death.

Seven others were sentenced to suffer various penalties for "exciting and stirring up sedition and insurrection in this Commonwealth." Moses Harvey, a member of the Legislature, was condemned to pay a fine of £50 and to sit on the gallows for one hour with a rope around his neck. Silas Hamilton, Esq., of Whittingham, Vt., for stirring up sedition in this Commonwealth, was sentenced to stand for one hour in the pillory and be publickly whipped with twenty stripes on the naked back. Samuel Rose received a similar sentence. The one condemned to death in Worcester county was Henry Gale of Princeton, and the one in Middlesex was Job Shattuck of Groton, who had resisted arrest so fiercely and been so severely wounded in the previous autumn. Holland notes the fact that of all the sentences thus passed the only one actually inflicted to the full in its original form was that imposed upon Moses Harvey.

Death warrants were issued early in May in the case of Parmenter and McCullock respectively, which fixed the 24th of that month as the date of their execution. Earnest efforts were made to secure a pardon for McCullock, and he, with Parmenter, was reprieved by the Governor to June 21. Peti-

tions for his pardon were signed by many citizens, including 73 from Hatfield and 44 from Hadley.

A large majority of those from Pelham in their petition dated May, 1787, had been active insurgents and had taken the oath of allegiance during March and April preceding.

Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., of Amherst sent an earnest appeal to Lieut. Gov. Thomas Cushing for the pardon of McCullock. The condemned man himself also sent a petition to the Governor in which he pressed an earnest plea for pardon.

On the day before that set for their execution, McCullock and Parmenter were reprieved for four weeks, and as the expiration of that period drew near formal preparations were made for a most impressive execution of their sentences. Great crowds of spectators from all the surrounding country were naturally expected to gather, and to preserve order and prevent any mad attempt of the crowds to interfere with the legal proceedings the volunteer companies of the town were strengthened and a detachment of militia under command of General Shepard was ordered down from Northfield. Early in the morning of June 21, the day appointed for the execution, the expected multitudes began to pour into town. The usual religious services had been arranged. The prisoners, under a strong guard, were marched from the jail to the meeting house but the multitude being far too large to be accommodated within its walls, the prisoners and their guard were drawn up in front of it and the officiating clergymen stood in one of its windows. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Enoch Hale of Westhampton, and the sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Baldwin of Palmer from the text, Rom. 7: 21, "I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me," suggesting a more forbearing and charitable treatment of the case of the prisoners than was often shown. Trumbull, in his "History of Northampton," thus described the scenes which followed:

"Then the procession with the sheriff and his deputies escorted by the soldiers, resumed its mournful way through the ever increasing crowd to the scaffold. At the foot of the gallows, where all was in readiness for the closing scene, and when everybody was waiting in anxious expectation of their final taking off, the high sheriff produced the reprieve and the criminals were remanded to their former quarters in the jail. The

government had shown its hand, had proved its power to carry out the decrees of the courts, but at the last moment had also established the fact that its justice was tempered with mercy."

In the Hampshire Gazette of May 30, it was intimated that such clemency on the part of the government might have been due to its fear of a threat of the insurgents to take the lives of two reputable citizens of Worcester County held by them, in reprisal for the death of these prisoners.

Judd, in his Diary, thought the proceeding "unaccountable," and added, "People are much chagrined at the Prisoners being reprieved." The date then set for their execution was Aug. 2, subsequently postponed to Sept. 20, and finally they were pardoned, as were the dozen other offenders under capital sentence.

An interesting sidelight on the sturdy character of one of the insurgents is recorded in a local history of western New York:

William Hencher of Brookfield had been a sergeant in Capt. Daniel Gilbert's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment, and was in active service from July 30 to Sept. 2, 1777, one month and three days. The company marched from Brookfield to Bennington and Half Moon on the Hudson, July 30, 1777.

In "Phelps & Gorham's Purchase" (Orasmus Turner, pp. 410-11) it is recorded that Hencher became one of Shays' men and while transporting provisions to the insurgents he was called to account by the military forces of the government. Forsaking his team he fled to western New York and was there joined by his family a year later. In February, 1792, he moved upon ox sleds by way of Seneca Lake. Late in March they occupied a hut at the mouth of Genesee River, the first habitation of a white man on the shore of Lake Ontario between that river and Fort Niagara. He purchased 600 acres of land, prospered by trading, reared a family of children, one son and seven daughters, all of whom married and settled in the neighborhood before his death soon after the war of 1812.

Although the collective assaults upon the existing order had well-nigh ceased, still some of the leaders of the insurrectionary movement were very busy trying to secure help outside the borders of the Commonwealth, in neighboring States, and even in Canada, whither some of them went and made

strenuous efforts to gain that end but without success. They represented there that the predatory outbreaks which had already occurred were but preliminary to a general uprising, and were loud in their threats of disaster to all who should oppose them. It was to an extra session of the General Court, the fourth of the year, that the Commissioners presented their report, and it was from that session that Governor Bowdoin took formal leave, expressing best wishes for the welfare of the Commonwealth and the hope "that the people might have just ideas of liberty, and not lose it in licentiousness, and in despotism its natural consequence." John Hancock had already been elected to succeed him by the preponderating vote of the rebels and their sympathizers. They had also changed very materially the complexion of the new Legislature which was about to convene, and upon these results of the election they based ardent hopes that their cause would reap decisive benefits. But in his opening speech Governor Hancock, expressing full acquaintance with the disturbed condition of affairs, submitted the question whether it would not be expedient and necessary to continue in the field an adequate force of the militia until all opposition had been overcome and all disorders had been quelled in Hampshire and Berkshire. It was finally decided that not less than 500 and not more than 800 men should be kept in the field in the western counties, and that all excepting nine men, who should take the oath of allegiance before Sept. 12 ensuing, should be pardoned. A vote on a general pardon in the House was defeated by a majority of 26, standing 120 to 94. Nor was the question of a repeal of the bill to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus carried through though vigorously supported.

"Thus did the Governor and Legislature condemn the policy and the sentiments which had placed them in office, and thus did they indorse and confirm the policy of Gov. Bowdoin." (Holland, History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 289.)

Hancock, the newly elected Governor, at an early day met the demands of the insurgents for a decrease in the salary of his office by sending to the General Court a message voluntarily offering the Commonwealth for its use and benefit, £300 of his salary. The gift was gratefully accepted with the statement of a determination to consider, at some future day, the

question of the constitutionality of the reduction of the Governor's salary by that body. It was a further indorsement of the policy and attitude of Governor Bowdoin and the General Court which had been convened from time to time during his incumbency.

Instead of gratifying the radical desires of the dissatisfied citizens who had secured the election of the new Legislature by repealing previous acts and subverting previous policies, it astonished the public and disappointed many constituents by ratifying and repeating previous actions. It condemned the issue of paper money, continued the tender act and coercive measures against the insurgents, and voted supplies for the troops in the field. According to Holland, "such a rebuke to the prejudices of a popular constituency has no parallel in the legislation of the State."

Affairs had become so settled that on Aug. 13 the Governor reduced the number of troops in active service to 200, and that remnant was finally discharged on Sept. 12, giving unquestionable evidence that the authorities were convinced that the safety and peace of the Commonwealth were no longer menaced by the forces of disorder and treason.

In February, 1788, just beyond the first anniversary of the attack upon the arsenal, Daniel Shays and Eli Parsons presented a petition for pardon, making most humble and earnest asseverations of penitence for their errors and misdeeds and assurances of good behavior in the future. They had long realized their wrongdoing in not trusting for relief from grievances to the wisdom and integrity of governmental authorities. They claimed at the same time that their previous course had been the result of misapprehension and had not been due to abandoned principle.

The act of general amnesty finally passed by the Legislature on June 13, 1788, justified all officers and others who had arrested suspicious persons, who had used property in the course of public duty, who had entered or quartered troops in houses while attempting to suppress rebellion and support the government. It indemnified all gaolers and sheriffs from whom prisoners had escaped, or who had been prevented by rebellious persons from serving executions.

The resolution also granted immunity from punishment of

all citizens who had been concerned in the insurrections, not convicted thereof, except against private suits for damage done to individuals, on condition of their subscribing to the oath of allegiance to the government within six months. The nine persons excepted from the indemnity of the year before, June 13, 1787, were bound by a condition besides, that they should never hold any civil or military office in the Commonwealth.

A pay roll from the Archives is as follows:

"Pay Roll of the General and Staff Officers of the 4th Division of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for Services done from August, 1786, to March, 1787.

NAMES and	RANK	Time Service Commenced	Time Service Ended	Septr, Octobr	Decemr	January	February	March	Whole Number of Days	Pay per Day	Amount of Pay
				ds	ds	ds	ds	ds	ds	£	£
William Shepard	Maj. Gen.	Sept.	March	13	18	24	28	13	96	1.0.0	96.0.0
Robert Oliver	Dep. Adj. Gen.	Decemr	Feb'y		6	14	10		30	0.10.0	15.0.0
William Lyman	Aid de Camp	Septr	March	15	10	30	22		76	0.6.8	25.6.8
Abel Whitney	Aid de Camp	Septr	March	10	12	23	28	10	83	0.6.8	27.13.4
Samuel Mather, Junr	Aid de Camp	Feb'y	March				9	11	20	0.6.8	6.13.4
William Smith	Dep. Qua. Gen.	Jan'y	March			17	28		45	0.8.0	18.0.0
Samuel Mather Esq.	Surgn Gen.	Jan'y	Feb'y			13	9		22	0.7.4	8.1.4
Warham Mather	Surgns Mate	Jan'y	Feb'y			13	9		22	0.3.6	3.17.0
											£200.11.8

N.B. The Original Sworn to before William Shepard
Mr. Justice Spooner Majr Genll"
(Mass. Archives, Shays Rebellion, Vol. 4, p. 82.)

CHAPTER XII

The Fourth Pastor and Third Meeting House

The third Pastor of the town, Rev. John Ballantine, efficient and devoted, reached the termination of his labors and went to his heavenly rest only about ten months after war was precipitated at Lexington. The loss of his counsel, comfort and cheer was a grievous one to the whole community. Indeed, his beneficent influence extended far beyond the limits of his immediate parish, to the infant settlements dotting the valley, north and south, and the western hilltops. The vacant pastorate was hard to fill in those troublous times, and it is a notable fact that during nearly the whole period of the actual Revolutionary conflict, Westfield had not a settled minister. After the death of Mr. Bull there had been but a very brief interregnum. It was peculiarly disastrous to have the important place vacant during those trying years of conflict, for though Westfield was so far removed from the scene of any actual clash of arms, its people were experiencing many of the horrors inevitably incident to a country at war. Losses, sorrows and pains were borne across spaces over which no firearm could carry a missile. Hardship and sacrifice were endured by multitudes who never felt the tang of battle smoke in their nostrils and never heard the whistle of a bullet or the shriek of a shell. The ministry of healing was needed by torn hearts in the home as well as by lacerated bodies upon the distant battlefield. Those who waited and watched at the hearthstone needed support and inspiration as well as those in bivouac, march and firing line.

Men of the type of Parson Ballantine were not to be found at random in a day's journey. Had his son John possessed the ability and the poise, the grace and the common sense of his Father, he might have been chosen to succeed him, but somewhere in John's mechanism there seems to have been a loose screw, a little one, at least. He was licensed to preach by the association at Springfield, April 29, 1773, as his Father's Journal informs us, and made his first public appearance in

the Westfield church in the exercise of ministerial functions in the following September.

The Treasurer's book for 1776 has the following entries relative to the Ballantine family:

"Paid. To Mrs. Ballantine for his sallary 34 weeks, £45 - 18 - 0 for boarding Mr. Gaylord 17 weeks 2 days 5 - 4 - 0

Lt. Zechariah Bush for Handles for Mr. Ballantine's Coffin &c. 12/2

Alexander Grant for Mr. Ballantine's Coffin 7/10

Jan. 1, 1778. New Com. to supply the Pulpit. George Phelps. Col. Jno Mosley, Dean John Shepard, & he refused, Samuel Bewell, Capn David Mosley & he was excused. Dean Joseph Root & he was excused, Danl Mosley Capn Danl Sacket & excused, Aaron King & excused. Doct. Israel Ashley.

"Voted that the Committee abovesaid be directed to proportion the sum of £150 which was granted the last Town meeting to Supply the Pulpit for the current year, on each Sabbath, after deducting from Sd sum of one Hundred & fifty Pounds, a sufficient Sum for Boarding a Candidate & Keeping his Horse, and said Committee not to agree with or pay any Candidate a larger Sum without the Consent of the Town."

"Voted not to excuse the Family of Mrs. Ballantine from Paying Taxes the last year.

"Voted, a pair of Grave Stones for the Revd Mr. Ballantine deceased & the Select Men are directed to provide the same."

Martin Root was paid in 1778 for Mr. Ballantine's gravestone £20 - 0 - 0. The "sallary" was doubtless the amount due at the minister's death. Mr. Gaylord, whom Mrs. Ballantine boarded, was a supply for the church, but there is no item to indicate that the son John accepted the town's invitation in so far as his own ministrations were concerned. It was in the latter part of 1777 that the name of Mr. Atwater appears, he having preached several times.

"June 17, 1781. At a legal church meeting duly warned,

Deacon John Shepard was chosen Moderator. The Church taking into Consideration the Expediency & Importance of having a Pastor settled over them in the Work of the Lord. On Motion made and seconded that Mr. Noah Atwater of New Haven and now one of the Tutors of the College there who about three years since preached some Months with us to good acceptance and likewise the last Fall one Sabbath & well liked by the People at large and whom the People have repeatedly urged their Committee to send for as the most likely Person, to Unite in, of any one Gentn that ever has preached with us since the Death of our late Revd. Pastor and we having had knowledge of his Abilities, Virtue and Piety the Meeting being full more so than Usual & largely debating the Importance of settling a Minister, not only as it regarded ourselves, but likewise our Children, & duly considering the same—

"The Question was put whether the Church will make choice of Mr Noah Atwater for their Minister and it passed (almost) unanimously in the Affirmative.

"A true Record made by John Phelps Clerk."

Noah Atwater was born Jan. 3, 1752, at Hamden, Conn., eight miles from New Haven, one of twelve children of Jacob, who was a descendant in the fourth generation, of David Atwater, of Lenham, England, who came over with Eaton and Davenport, and settled at New Haven. The old homestead was visited in 1884 by one of the family and found in a good state of preservation though erected nearly one hundred and seventy-five years before.

Noah Atwater was born in a region where Puritanism in its strictest form prevailed. When he was quite young his mind turned toward the ministry as a life work, and to prepare for it he entered Yale College, where the Rev. Nehemiah Bull had been trained and been graduated thirty-one years before Mr. Atwater was born. We know little of the young student's experiences there other than that an amiable disposition endeared him to his fellows and instructors, and that ability and diligence as a student secured him first honors and the valedictory address at graduation in the class of 1774, when he was twenty-two years old. For two years thereafter

he pursued theological studies, but where and with whom cannot now be determined. The custom then, as earlier, was for a theological student to read with some learned minister who could direct and help him in his tasks.

Shortly after his first appearance in Westfield, early in 1778, Mr. Atwater accepted the position of tutor at Yale College, doubtless coveting the opportunity that could be thus secured for a wider range of study.

The following letter was written in 1847, by an old man of retentive memory and loyal heart, then eighty-seven years old. He was no less a personage than Judge Simeon Bradstreet, who had been on the bench of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, a son-in-law of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He wrote to a descendant of Mr. Atwater: "Your grandfather was the only Tutor of my class when in College. He took charge of us when Freshmen and carried us through until we were Seniors. He had a happy faculty for governing and instructing young men; was mild, affectionate and persuasive in his manner, and thus gained the esteem and confidence of his pupils. While some of his associates by a different course became unpopular, he always retained a full share of influence. In his time the whole burden of the government of the College was in the hands of the President and Tutors. They alone constituted the Faculty."

The Churches invited to the Atwater Council were Yale College, Suffield First and Second, Longmeadow, Springfield, West Springfield, Feeding Hills, Northampton, Southampton, Southwick.

The committee to send out letters missive and "to wait on Council" were Dea. John Shepard, John Ingersoll, Esq., and John Phelps.

During the first two years of his life in Westfield he was unmarried and made his home at Lieutenant Moseley's, but in June, 1782, he removed to Dr. Samuel Mather's near the church. The year following, Oct. 16, 1783, he married in Northampton, Mrs. Rachel Lyman Mather, widow of William Mather, and thus came into a kind of family relationship with his host, Dr. Mather. He had owned a house a year and a half before that auspicious event happened. Under date

of March, 1782, he enters in his Journal: "March 6th I bought of Capt. Kellogg his place agreed to give him 420£ ($1400), he estimated the house 200£, the barn 25£, the land 6 Acres and six rods 163£, the Shop 22£, the fence 3£, Lumber House 3£, Sundries 3£, March 20th, 1782.—Received a Deed of my house, gave obligation to pay Capt. Kellogg 132£, and gave a receipt to the town for 300£. (The Settlement the Town voted me) for the payment of which Capt. Kellogg accepted the obligation of the Town." This house was located just east of the Second Church on land now occupied by buildings of the United States Whip Company.

Mr. Atwater must have been an interesting man, for he was interested in so many things. He was, for his day, a scientific keeper of bees, and a gardener. He was a close observer of natural phenomena and recorded many of them year by year. He had a rain gauge and kept track of its records. His Journal, though neither so extensive nor so spicy as Mr. Ballantine's, yet contains many very interesting and noteworthy entries.

"1782. Jan. 6th My first Communion at Westfield. 29th Cold, 18° below 0. 30th. 14 below. 31st 14 below. Apr. 6th Married Amos Bush & Anna Fowler, the Phebe birds appeared the 2nd, martins 9th, 17th Capt. Tinkers house raised. 57 Apple Trees brought from Southwick, /6 per tree and 1/ for bringing. 16 & 17, Shade trees set on the Green and on the streets that lead from it." That was perhaps the formal inception of the wise plan which has resulted in making Westfield famous for the beauty of its streets. A few of the trees then set are probably still standing, though many more have been removed within a few years past, aged monarchs which, having lost vigor, had become a menace to the public, but which it was pathetic to part with, as old and cherished friends. Such trees are living links with a past which is full of historic interest, and which has been potent in shaping and enriching our lives.

"Apr. 23d Mr. Morse's house raised." This was on the opposite side of Main Street from Mr. Atwater's, the house which was moved back of the northeast corner of the First Church, where for many years it was known as "the Ghost House" until torn down in 1918.

"25th Continental Fast—exchanged with Mr. Forward," who was the minister at Southwick.

"8th May, 1782. Set out for Hartford. 10th Arrived at New Haven. Atwater left my school, another man joined it. 13th Set out for home toward noon, at night a thunder storm. At South Farmington a terrible Hail, trees stripped of their tender leaves, grain cut to pieces. Birds killed and window glass broken. 16th Apple trees in bloom. 25, Hailstorm thunder and rain."

"June 5th. Catechised the children at meeting house, about 80 present. June 3. Capt. Kellogg moved to Sandisfield. 10th Mr. Bohan King's house was raised. Doct. Williams of Long Meadow died in his 90th year. 12th went to his funeral. 66 years of his ministry. 12th The jail at Springfield broken open & Ely taken out, the party that took him were taken at Hadley, the matter compromised at Northampton. 16th The mob appeared at Northampton to rescue the three men kept as hostages for the return of the above mentioned Ely, but did not affect their design. The Regiment called it interrupted the Lord's day at Westfield."

The heat of political turmoil was not the only distress from which the people suffered during that memorable month of June. Mr. Atwater records that on the "18th the mercury was at 97°, on the 21st and 22nd at 95° and the same on the 26th." The general average of the season, however, was different, "Aug. 30th a small frost—a very cold summer," but the New England climate already knew how to do sensational things, a trick not yet forgotten.

"Sep. 4th Thermometer 93°—5th 94°" then "13th, 14th, 16th, 19th hard frosts, corn killed. 18 Had in possession 10£, 5s. in money."

"Oct. 6th Mr. John Ballantine preached for me."

"January 1783—Contributed to the Inhabitants of Charlestown to build a Meeting House." That was to replace the one which the British graciously destroyed with the other buildings in town on the day of Bunker Hill.

"9th 20° below 0. Feb. 24th Blue Birds, Black Birds, & Robins appeared. 26th Mr. John Ballantine & Doct. Paul Whitney chosen Deacons and took the matter into consideration."

"Mar. 11th 3° below 0. 17th got some scions of Mr. Ely 18th Grafted 34 apple trees, the mercury at the backside of the house stood at 86°. 19th very cold, fire on the Mountain on Mrs. Moseley's farm. May 1st. 1783. The Joiners finished the work on my house. 58½ days, 5/6 per day."

"May 7th This day in Westfield was kept as a day of rejoicing for peace, preached a Lecture from Ps. 5:16." Somewhat full particulars of that popular celebration of one of the most momentous events of modern history have been given in a previous Chapter. It certainly was a great day in the life of the town. "Aug. 8th Deacon John Shepard died. 9th Preached a sermon at the Meeting House, the Corpse present. Sep. 15. At night Medad Fowler & Lovisa Falley were married."

"Nov. 2, 1783. Recd. a present from Miss Pynchon a fine silk white Handkerchief. 13th Present 2 Fowls of Col. Moseley. 2 do of Bohan King 1 do of Mr. Zadoc Bush. A lb. of Tea of Mrs. Greene Pickles of Mr Clap, Mrs Emerson Butter, Many things of Doct. Mather, Mrs. Glass, of Mr Mather Rum, Brandy and wine of considerable amt. Recd. of Mr. John Phelps a fat loin of mutton & some candles. 20th Preached a lecture at Luke Phelps, a present from widow Ann Moseley fine worsted home made stockings, and a piece of Butter and a present from Mr. Samuel Fowler of about 3 qts. of Brandy. 22 Nov. 1783 Mr. Thomas Nobles Tan house was burnt, very cold. [The tan house stood in the rear of the southwest corner of Elm and Franklin Streets.] 26th A church fast at Westfield. Mr. Forward peached" [Mr. Abel Forward of Southwick.] It seems strange that such a fast was appointed for that date, but the Thanksgiving was observed a fortnight later as the record shows. "29th An Earthquake between 10 & 11 o'clock at night."

"Jan. 21st 1784. Set out for Northampton but could not get there." Later he summarizes. "A very cold month. A winter uncommonly cold, large quantities of snow in the woods and on the mountains. Amazing quantities of Ice in the Rivers."

"March, 1784. 2nd Set out for Granby to attend Council. 15th The rivers broke up. Great flood, the rivers lined with

mountains of Ice. 31 The Young Men cut wood" The reference of that item is to the custom of supplying the minister with firewood which the young men cut in the late winter and drew to the parsonage as soon as possible thereafter.

During that month of March Mr. Atwater made many entries of gifts, including sausages and mustard seed. Among those of the first week of April were "1 doz. eggs and 2 nutmegs" from Miss Pynchon and a bottle of spring beer from Mrs. Parks.

"April, 15, 1784. State Fast. Martin birds came. 21st The Association met here. Donum of Esquire Ingersoll 2 Quarts Rum." Whether or not there was any connection in the donor's mind between the meeting and the gift is not stated, though it is not improbable that the hospitable minister of the entertaining church shared the liquid luxury with such of his brethren as enjoyed that kind of a cheering influence. It was a characteristic New England beverage in those days.

"1784, May 14th Rec'd of John Phelps Esq. an elegant Psalm Book price 6/. 17th had green Pease. 23rd Went to Hartford & Northbury. 26th mercury at Hartford 101° July 1st 1784 Bees swarmed a 2d time. 14th Picked a cucumber. A great shower after 4 or 5 weeks of drought. A hard storm at Northampton did much damage. 26th Air filled with little insects, their motion from N to south. 31st Preached a Lecture at Suffield. A terrible thunder storm."

"Sep 2nd 1784. Catechised children about 68. Mrs. Atwater went to Northampton. 15th Went to Northampton & returned. Weighed hive of bees No. 3. weight 23 1/4 lbs."

"October 1784. 7th weighed hive of bees No 1. 71 lbs No 2, 63¾ lbs."

"November 25th State Thanksgiving."

"Dec. 1784, 6th paid Mr. Robinson 20/ for Hive of Bees. 22nd Attended Circular Lecture and Mr Williams preached. This year was healthy. Measles prevailed some. This was Locust year from Salmon Brook Northard to Northampton, perhaps further."

"1785 Jan. 25th Westfield River broke up."

"Feb. 2nd Great snow. 16th Mother Lyman died. 21st She was buried."

"March 1785, 14th March Town Meeting, a very snowy day.

23rd Elizabeth Tuttle killed by the falling of a tree. An uncommon month for Grand Good sleighing the whole of it. Snow very deep at the end of it. Rivers all firm."

"April 1785, 7th Fast, people came to Meeting on old snow. 12th Went to Northampton, snow on Pine Plains Knee deep. 18th Martin birds came, the foreside of the mountains covered with snow, no ground to be seen on Mrs. Moseleys farm 21st pretty good sleighing. 22nd bees began to show yellow legs. 24th But a little of the ground appeared on Mrs Moseleys farm, principally covered with snow. 26th Went to Springfield. 27th Mr. Howard ordained at Springfield."

"May 1785, 7th Lieut. Dewey sowed flax and clover seed. 17th Planted Pompions, Potatoes, &c. 21st Mrs Atwater had a present of a Cow from her Brothers. A backward month. 28, 29 & 30th apple trees in bloom."

"June 1785, 12th Preached 3 sermons one at Capt Grays. 19th Preached at Solomon Roots barn after the service in town. 28th The whole of the Home Lot clover mowed by 5 hands. 30th Mr. Moses Baggs house was raised."

"July 1785, 1st The whole of the Home Lot Grass got in without rain. 4th Moose killed in the Town by Lieut Silas Bush, it weighed 386 lbs. before dressing. Received a part of it as a present. Clover on Town Lot mowed. 14th Began to raise the Bridge at Wellers Mills. 21st Joseph Dewey chosen Deacon, finished raising the Bridge."

"September 1785, 1st Sowed 18 Kernals of Wheat. 7th Dn of Isaac Stiles a large Musk Melon. 12th We set out for Commencement, stoped at Farmington."

"October 1785, 4th Went to Norwich to Circular Lecture. 25th Preached a Lecture at Granville at Lieut Bancrofts. Potato tops not killed in my Garden until the 18th inst."

"November 1785, 24th Preached Thanksgiving sermon at West Suffield."

"Dec. 7th Attended Ordination of Mr Storrs at Long Meadow. 10th Don. of Col. Shepard a fat Turkey. 15th State Thanksgiving. 30th A healthy year, the Canker prevailed some the latter part of the year. A great plenty of Pigeons, some persons have caught 500 Dozen. The Bridge at Wellers Mill was crossed."

"1786. Jan. 30th Very early in the morning about three

quarters before one o'clock my child was born apres deux jours du trouveille and deux nuits."

"Feb. 5th My child William was baptised. 8th Don. from John Phelps Bottle Brandy. 20th Frederick Falley came to school to learn arithmetic. March 14th Blue birds came. 17th Robins & Blackbirds came 19th Bees with yellow legs in abundance. 26th Mr Catlin missionary to Indians preached for me ½ day"

"29th Plowed Tobacco ground, Garden and some in Home Lot. Ground well settled. 28th Sold a fat cow for $20 in money. 31st paid $10 for Cow to Mr Root of Southwick. A very warm month, ground settled by 15th." That striking contrast with the corresponding month of the year just preceding shows that the freaks of New England weather are not a modern invention, and the fact is farther illustrated by an entry for April 2nd "12 inches of snow." April "4th snow melted, grass green." 22 to 26 rained 4 inches. 28th Mr Ezra Claps house was raised.

"May 1786, 1st Samuel Fowler came to school. 19th My brother Jason & his wife came. 21st He preached for me. 20th Bought a Cow and Calf of Mr. Saml Fowler for 4£. 30th Made a Bbl of Metheglin. 27th Miss Polly Pynchon gave my son Billy a Dollar. 31st A very pleasant month, things nearly a fortnight earlier than usual.

"August 15th Went to Granville, a meteor was heard. 16th Mr Booge Installed at Granville. Mr. Gaylord preached the sermon. 23rd In the afternoon a remarkable Thunder shower with no very hard thunder but a violent wind and it broke down the large tree before the Meeting house door and many apple trees in the town and leveled many fences. It also broke considerable glass in the Meeting house. It began to rain at exactly 5 o'clock and rained 20 minutes and the rain that fell in that time was 1.70 inches. It was remarkably dark. 28th light frost." Sep 26th, 27th and 28th the great insurrection against the superior Court at Springfield."

"October 1786 The first 5 days showery and the 5th at night hard rain. 6th Very hard rain in the forenoon and about the middle of the P. M. the Rivers were unusually high. The water was about to the planks at Wellers Bridge, the meadows covered. All the Bridges above us carried away. At sunset when the

water had fallen about a foot 4 persons in a canoe passed from the Hill at Oliver Ingersolls in the road all the way to the hill at the widow Taylors. Much damage was done to apples, Corn, Pumpkins &c & fences were carried away. The rain that fell in all the showery days was 4 inches and chiefly the last night and morning. The Great river at the Old County Bridge rose 20 or 22 feet and 18 to 19 feet in 8 hours being from 7 o'clock A.M. to 3 o'clock P.M. and the fall was almost as sudden as the rain."

"17th Great Aurora, Red &c. 30th A snow fall of 5 inches. 21st Rec'd of Capt Wm Cooley for the board and instruction of his son in cash 48/ ($8.00) before 15 lbs Cheese at /6d and 15 lbs Butter at -/6d and 24 lbs Mutton 6/- ($1.00) (in all 11.50) 23rd Preached Thanksgiving at Turkey Hills. 29th A small Earthquake about 9 o'clock in the morning, remarkable that on the same day one occured in 1783."

"Dec. 8th Don. of Mr Samuel Fowler, Barcelona Handkerchief price 8/- 12th very cold 21° below zero. 13th Don. of Gen. Shepard a fat Turkey. 14th Thanksgiving, went to Southwick and married two couples. 20th Circular Lecture here Mr Williams preached. I read the address of the General Court to the people. 28th Preached a Lecture at Southwick and read the Address of the Genl. Court to the people."

"Feb. 28th 1786. To the Selectmen of the Town of Westfield. Considering the inconveniences and distresses of the poor in the Town I wish to contribute to their relief. And I have determined to relinquish something of my last years salary for the purpose. But I choose to have nothing to do in naming the persons who are to be benefitted by it. As you are the most suitable persons to judge in a matter of this nature, my request is that you would take the care and favor those that in your opinion ought to be favored. If gentlemen you will take the care to dispose of Ten pounds for the benefit of the persons above mentioned and will charge it to my account you will oblige your Humble Servant Noah Atwater."

This generous contribution was made at the time when monetary stringency was very severe, and the spirit of discontent was most bitter, which a year later found vent in the rebellion that General Shepard and the militia under his command crushed on Springfield hill. Even the well-to-do

and thrifty had embarrassing financial experiences during that period. The number of the poor was greatly increased and help was sorely needed by many people in many homes. Mr. Atwater chose the selectmen as his almoners because his salary was paid by them and because they naturally would have known much of the conditions of all people in town.

"The rain fall for 1786 was 34.37 inches, the snow fall 7 ft. 10¼ inches." Jan. 18th The men went to Springfield. 25th 4 men were Killed at Springfield." [The outbreak under Shays]

"February 13 Went to Deerfield, preached the sermon at the ordination of Mr Taylor on the 14th"

"Mar. 1787. 12th & 13th Robins, Blue Birds & Black Birds came. 22nd State Fast. 21st Let Mr Tinker have 2 bushels wheat at 5/- and received for it 15 lbs sugar. 31st Paid to Mr Tinker 3 16/48 bushels of wheat for Cloth and trimmings for pair of breeches taken 26 inst. April 12th made Metheglin. May 1st Silas Bushs house raised, 4th planted Garden. 22nd Went to Northampton and visited prisoners. 26th A frost that killed things in the Gardens, also a frost on the 27th 28th and 29th. A cool month, few blows on the trees, blossomed 10th to 12th."

"June 10th Contribution for those in Boston who lost their effects by fire in April. 22 Clover mowed on the Tobacco ground. July 13th a very bright Aurora. Don. of Mr Silas King a rooster. 25th rained from 5 o'clock to 9 o'clock P.M. 2.4 inches."

"Aug 17th Lucy was born. 19th Lucy was Baptised. 23rd A large meteor in the N. East the blaze in appearance about the bigness of a hat crown, in the clear open air. The direction nearly in the direction of the suns rays at this season of the year or a month later at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. The wind was N. West. It extended a considerable distance with the [word illegible] leaving a smoke behind it. It vanished I should think when it had descended to within 15 or 20 degrees of the horizon. The velocity was not great. No noise was heard, the smoke occasioned by it disappeared like a small white cloud, but was visible more than a quarter of an hour. I observed the time by my watch. The Meteor appeared about 4 P.M."

"Sep. 1787. First. Before day in the morning Mr. Dean's Grist Mill took fire and burnt down, at the place called Weller's Mills. A new Mill and a very costly one. 5th Subscribed to give 2£ to the owner of the Mill."

"16th My wife died. A sudden and affecting death. 18th She was buried, her body was carried to the Meeting House and a sermon was preached by Mr. Joseph Lathrop from Ecc. 7:4 The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning. The assembly was great." There follows a long list of gifts, food and drink, sent to the house on the day preceding the funeral.

"25th Went to the North Farms and married Luke Moore to Lucretia Rogers, in the evening Married Frederic Fowler and Miriam Moseley. Jan. 1788. 19th & 20th Trees remarkably loaded with Ice, multitudes broken to pieces with the weight. 30th Mr Isaac Clinton ordained at Southwick. Feb. 7th State Convention adopted the Constitution 29th Moved Lucy from Mrs Whipples to Col. Taylor's. Mar. 13th Robins, Blue Birds and Blackbirds came. 18th Visited school in Shepard Lane. Mrs. Howard died. 20th Went to Mr. Lathrops [West Springfield] to attend Mrs. Howard's funeral, but put off by reason of the River. 21st Went to Springfield to attend Mrs. Howard's funeral. Mr. Lathrop preached."

"April 6th The martin birds came. 9th Association at Mr Lathrop's. Mr Ives preached. 30th Sowed Flax. May 1788, 2nd Weaned Lucy and brought her to Mr. Whipples. 6th bought a cow of Lieut Pliny Moseley. 19th Widow Everton came to live at my house. 21st Apple trees in full bloom. July 1st Sowed Buckwheat on Town Lot. 17th Attended execution of Abiah Converse at Northampton who was executed for the murder of her infant bastard son. Mr. Bascom preached from Prov. 8:36. 26th About 25 hands reapt my grain and gave their labor. Aug. 7 & 8 Enoculated trees in the Lot. Bought a Cow of Mr Robert Root for 80/- 13th A Sturgeon was caught in the river below Weller's Mills about 6 ft. long, weighed 112 lbs. 19th Between 2 & 3 o'clock P.M. a violent wind from the S. East, suddenly it moved its direction and blew with great violence. This was almost a hurricane over the greater part of New England."

"September 8th Went to my Fathers. 9th Went to Bran-

ford. 10th Attended Commencement. 11th paid to President Stiles 12/- a subscription for ye College apparatus, paid to Uncle Jeremiah Atwater 12/- to be laid out for sugar at ye West Indies. 15th Don. of Mr. Whipple Linen for Lucy. Oct. 8th The Regiment met at Westfield to be reviewed. Donum of Gen. Parks a Rooster. 16th Went to Southampton to the Dedication of the new Meeting House. 17th In the evening appeared in the southern direction a Meteor of a large size and the report was heard about 4 minutes after the appearance. 31st Very cold. Boys sliding on the Ponds. Nov. 27, 1788 Thanksgiving Day. Dec. 2nd & 3rd very cold. 3d Circular Lecture at West Hampton. 17th Had my grain fanned, my whole harvest 31 bushels of Rye."

"Amount of rainfall in 1788 39.29 inches. do of snowfall in 1788 3 ft. 7 inches. The Federal Constitution was adopted."

That concludes the copy of Mr. Atwater's Journal, which has been preserved and is now carefully protected in the Westfield Atheneum. How deplorable is the fact that we have nothing more of it for the thirteen subsequent years of his life! That kind of personal record of current events has many valuable features which are commonly recognized. It is peculiarly significant as an exposition of the character of the writer in addition to its worth for interesting incidents. In this case we learn much concerning the quality of Mr. Atwater's services to the people of his time in Westfield and in regions round about. He is shown to have been an alert, diligent and useful man. It is amazing to learn what distances he covered in specified times, over such wretched highways as were the best that the period afforded. His horse must have been a good roadster.

That his people held him in high estimation is evidenced by his records of gifts which flowed to him in an almost unbroken stream. Those cited above are but a moiety of those which he has recorded.

Three letters of his afford us further ground on which to base an estimate of his character, temperament and ability, in dealing with an individual seeking guidance, and in treating broad national interests. A very notable letter of Mr. Atwater preserved in the Atheneum was written Jan. 25, 1793, to Mr.

Timothy Cooley, then a student at Yale, and sent to him through one of the Fowlers from Westfield, then a fellow student, either Samuel or his cousin Bancroft. Young Cooley was earnestly considering the choice of a profession, and wavering between the Law and Divinity. Mr. Atwater's long and elaborate letter is in answer to a request for advice, which he gives with no uncertain sound in favor of his preparation for the ministry.

How large a factor this plea of Mr. Atwater's proved cannot be determined, but young Cooley made the choice thus recommended, was ordained over the church in his native town of Granville, Feb. 3, 1796, and served it with remarkable ability and fidelity for more than half a century, and helped to train for the ministry many students who became efficient and successful in their profession. Mr. Atwater was one of Gen. Shepard's numerous correspondents while in Congress. His letters prove his deep interest in national affairs.

The pathetic entry which Mr. Atwater made in his Journal, Sept. 16, 1787, suggests the great grief which then overwhelmed him and desolated his home. The death of his wife was rendered peculiarly distressing by the fact that it occurred when their only daughter Lucy was but a month old, and their only son William was but a year and a half old. The loneliness and perplexity of the bereaved pastor can hardly be conceived of, with two tiny motherless children left in his home. Their need of maternal care was supplied two years later, when on Dec. 1, 1789, Mr. Atwater married Mrs. Anna Lockwood. A patient search of the Lockwood Genealogy has failed to discover her maiden name, but it seems probable that she was the widow of Brigade Major James Lockwood, son of Rev. James Lockwood of Wethersfield, Conn., who during his successful pastorate there refused invitations to the Presidency of Yale and of Princeton colleges respectively. Another son of James Lockwood, William, was installed over the church at Glastonbury, Aug. 30, 1797, on which occasion Mr. Atwater gave him the right hand of fellowship, indicating some close personal relationship of Mr. Atwater to the church or to the new incumbent. He was probably the brother-in law of Mrs. Atwater, since he was one of two administrators of Rev. Noah Atwater's will, the other having been the widow.

A manuscript of a sermon, yellow with age, preached by Mr. Atwater, March 17, 1799, bearing the number 1605, showing that he had been diligent in his pulpit work during the dozen and a half years of his pastorate, gives an interesting account of existing conditions at various periods of the church's life. Its title is "The History of Religion in Westfield, of Revivals and Declensions." After reviewing three previous periods, including the Great Awakening, 1740–1741, when about one hundred persons united with the church, all of them cherishing the hope that they had been soundly converted as opposed to the more liberal practices of many churches of the period, he proceeds to deal with conditions then existing. The picture drawn is decidedly gloomy, illustrating the fitness of his text, Lam. 4 : 1, "How is the gold become dim." In giving an account of the state of religion in town he says, "I observe in general that there is apparently but little attention to it, but little heart engagedness in it. It is in a low state. The present time is a time of lukewarmness. It is a time of great declension!" In proof of that estimate he cites various facts:

(1) For a year and a half not a single person had made a profession of religion and joined the church.

(2) The number of children presented for baptism was small, but few out of the eighty or ninety annually born in the town.

(3) Little attention was paid to public worship, both on the Sabbath and at week day Lectures which he maintained faithfully for ten years but had discontinued two or three years since.

(4) The general conduct which shows more attention to things of time than to those of eternity.

(5) The general conversation that is heard dealing with things material rather than spiritual.

(6) "For further evidence that religion is in a low state among us we may look to numbers. There are about 2000 persons in the town. How small a part of these make a profession of religion. How small a part are steady in their attendance upon public worship. How small a part have a willingness to converse freely upon the subject of religion."

Mr. Atwater then presents reasons to expect a continuance

of that low religious state, and concludes by urging methods of improvement.

A more interesting sermon of his preached at the completion of a pastorate of twenty years, Nov. 22, 1801, was published by the town. Its theme was "The Preservation and Changes of Human Life." It reviewed and summarized many facts in the life of the town and church during the two decades. Though he was then suffering greatly from some serious physical ailments to which he alluded in the sermon, such was the vigor of its style and its delivery that his people did not consider the possibility of its being his swan's song. It proved, however, to be such, since he was unable to officiate again in the pulpit. Some of its interesting data are worthy of our consideration.

He had performed 305 marriage services. The number of deaths in town had been 541, an average of 27 a year. Of that number 80 persons had reached the age of 70 years, 32 had reached the age of 80, 6 the age of 90 and 3 the age of 95.

Passing to changes in the church he says: "When I was ordained the number of communicants in the church was 135. Of these, two-thirds are gone from us; 70, which are more than half, are dead; and 20 have removed to other places; But 45 remain. The number of those who have come to the communion in this term of time, by making a profession of religion, by coming forward upon a former profession, and by recommendation from other churches, is 121. A number of these also are dead, and a number have transferred their relation. So many have been the removals by death and by other ways, that with all the additions which have been made the number of communicants now is but little different from the number when I settled. In this term of time seven deacons have belonged to the church; and of them four are now dead. The number of persons whom I have baptized is 362. Many of these also are with the dead."

He speaks of his impaired health, and adds, "But if my health should be restored it could not be for long continuance, for I am advanced in life: in a few weeks I shall be 50 years old. When one has arrived to such an age he must view himself as on the declivity of life and hastening to the valley

of death." He refers to the late decline in his hearing as a serious impairment of his usefulness.

That he considered the town his parish, morally as well as legally, is evident from his statement that during the first year of his ministry he had visited every family in town, and purposed to accomplsh a similar task during the twentieth year, while having made many calls during each intervening year.

The light thus thrown upon the religious state of the town is quite startling, though it was at a period of widespread spiritual declension. We are wont to think of the church in the century then just closed as comprised of the major part of the townspeople. Every taxpayer shared in its support and had a voice in the settlement and maintenance of its minister. But Mr. Atwater's figures show how small a minority in the community actually belonged to its active membership. By no means is it true that everybody who had reached mature life was formally connected with the church organization, which was a vital part of the municipal existence. Nor is it to be doubted that then as always, vital religion was not limited to the formal membership of the church. According to accepted standards the church was not in a vigorous and flourishing state; yet the great bulk of the population was composed of upright, honest, God-fearing persons.

That Mr. Atwater was an earnest, brave, wise and faithful preacher his sermons fully attest; that his people were very fond of him, very loyal and very generous to him, is amply proven by the successive records of his Journal.

The author cherishes a copy of a notable letter of advice to his only son, which the town in a general meeting asked permission to print, together with his last sermon from which citations have been made above.

The relations between Mr. Atwater and his people, that is the whole town, he being the only resident minister and supported by public taxation, were most kindly and cordial, according to the highest New England ideal. They considered his needs and provided for them generously as evidenced by the following communication:

"Westfield Jan. 16, 1797.

"Gentlemen: I perceive that at your last meeting in voting my Salary you considered the enhanced prices of the Articles which are necessary to the support of a family and made a grant to me of Sixty Dollars in addition to the nominal Sum. I take the earliest opportunity I have at a public Meeting to acknowledge the Kindness. You will please to accept my sincere thanks for it. I am fully satisfied with the Sum. The satisfaction I feel in the consideration of the Grant is the greater as it was a mere motion of yours. While I am attending to this second grant you have made to me I would not be unmindful of the first, or of the many particular kindnesses which I have received. Accept, Gentlemen, my thanks for them all, and an assurance of my best wishes for your temporal and Spiritual prosperity.

Your Friend and Servant in the Gospel,

Noah Atwater."

Noah Atwater's will bears date of Jan. 9, 1802. He gives to his son William $333.33 besides his one-third rate, to assist in his education. "To the Hampshire Missionary Society $80 to improve its magazines & aid in their distribution.

"To the church of Christ in Westfield $20 to be laid out in more decently furnishing the Communion Table with vessels, on Condition that the Church raise twenty dollars more for the same purpose," to be raised within a year from his decease or else the bequest is void.

"To Westfield Academy $20 the interest of which is to be paid at the time of the Spring examinations to the pupil who is the best writer in the school at that time, the decision to rest with Trustees & Instructors."

The witnesses were Bohan King, Ashbel Eager, and Jacob Morse; the Executors, Samuel Fowler of Westfield and William Lockwood of Glastonbury, Conn. In the court records following, Samuel Fowler and Mrs. Anna Atwater acted as administrators.

The real and personal estate of Mr. Atwater footed $3188.-49, his library $145. He had one Cow $18, one horse $40, one sleigh $5.00, one Chair $25, 6 silver tablespoons $15, 6 teaspoons $4.33, a soup spoon $4, 1 pair Globes $14, 1 Electric

apparatus $6, 17 sheep $20, 3 bbls Metheglin $45, 1 bbl wine $10, 100 bushels Indian Corn $50, 8 Beehives $24, 1 share in town Library $3.33.

Among his books are the following still found in modern libraries: Cruden's Concordance, Edwards on the Will, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Henry's Com., Thomson's Seasons, Paradise Lost, Johnson's Dictionary, Robertson's Scotland, Rollins' Ancient History, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Closing Century

The period immediately following the close of the Revolution was one of recuperation consequent upon the long and exhausting war, and adjustment to new political and economic conditions.

The national territory was bounded by Canada on the north, the Atlantic on the east, the Mississippi river on the west, and extended to the lower limits of Georgia, Louisiana and Florida not then having been included. It was considerably less than half of the present area exclusive of Alaska. The population, according to the first national census of 1790, was 3,929,214, including, of course, negroes and Indians.

The census of Westfield at that time was taken by Gen. William Shepard and is thus reported:

Houses 326		Families 348	
Free Whites		*Negroes*	
Males over 16,	527	Benhadad and six others,	7
Males under 16,	565	Adam and two others,	3
Females,	1,054	Sib and four others,	5
All others,	58		—
			15
Total,	2,204		

It is interesting to note the relative population of several towns of old Hampshire county at that time: West Springfield 2367, Westfield 2204, Conway 2092, Granville 1979, Northampton 1628, Springfield 1574, Wilbraham 1555, Blandford 1416. Thus Westfield ranked second, and Springfield sixth, only slightly larger than Wilbraham. The people of the whole country depended almost entirely upon agriculture for support. Fishing and shipping on the coast were quite extensively carried on, but the manufacturing industry was in its infancy. The great bulk of the cloth used for domestic and personal purposes was of domestic manufacture. The women prepared, spun and wove cotton, flax and wool, household arts which

have hardly been known in New England for a century past. Occasionally a heroic attempt was made to establish an industry by means of machinery.

As such an instance of the progress of industrial development an item is published in the Hampshire Herald, Jan. 10, 1786, stating that "a new and promising manufactory has lately been established by Mons. Gillet de la Vallee and Co. at Parker's Falls, New Hampshire, under the patronage of the Hon. Major-General Sullivan, at whose house we are informed the manufacturers now reside." The article continues: "They have made considerable progress and are now selling large buttons of all colours, from 6 to 12 coppers per doz. small ones in proportion; mohair of all colours at 2 coppers per skein; silk knee-garters of all colours, at 10 coppers per pair; common do. 6 coppers: hair buttons for hats at 8 coppers per doz. fashionable loops for hats, at 3 coppers per yard; round do. at one copper per yard; white cord of different qualities and prices. We are likewise told that they have machines for doubling and twisting all sorts of thread for sewing, embroidering, making lace, or for fabricating silk or cotton hose; for making all kinds of lace, either of thread, woolen, cotton, silk, gold or silver; that they have also looms for making superfine broadcloths, and other fine cloths, either according to the French or English fashion, equal in firmness and lustre to the manufactures of any country. It is likewise added that they not only have the machines for making the before-mentioned articles, but that they are perfectly capable of manufacturing them, and of establishing and carrying on many other kinds of manufactures. The benefits to be derived to the United States from the encouragement of domestic manufactures, are as numerous and important as they are obvious. No one, therefore, in whose breast one spark of patriotism is alive, will withhold encouragement from such laudable efforts for benefiting our country."

There were quantities of imported articles for sale in the stores in Boston and the inland towns. The Hampshire Gazette for Jan. 1, 1800, has the following advertisement: "Justin Ely has just received and for sale a quantity best English blistered steel: also a general assortment of European, East & West Indian goods as usual. West Springfield, Dec. 30, 1799."

An itemized account of William Shepard with Samuel Fowler now in the possession of great-grandchildren of the latter, is, on many grounds, well worthy of analytical study. The penmanship resembles a copper plate engraving, the letters and figures are so clear, so accurate, and perfectly true though the paper is unlined. The account, filling four pages of paper larger than the modern foolscap size, runs from 1785 to 1796 inclusive. Among the items are notes, accounts respectively of General Shepard's Father and Mother, showing that in his poverty he was still bearing burdens of other members of his family, which pressed upon him for many years. The final settlement was made May 18, 1796. Many charges indicate the kinds and prices of merchandise dealt in at the period.

"7 yds Linnen 28/, 1¾ yds Lasting 7/7d, 20 coat Buttons 3/4d, 4 small do 4d. 2¾ yds Brod Cloth 60/6, 1 Gauze Handkf 3/8, ½ Gal W I Rum 2/6d, 1¼ yd Ratteen 10/, 5 lb Sugar 3/4d, 1 pr Gloves 3/2, 1 pr. Hose 5/0, 2 Nutmegs 1/2d, 2¼ yds Fustian 7/4d, 2 yds Corduroy 11/, 1 Psalm Book 3/4d, 6 Gals. Brandy 30/, ½ yd Buckram 10d, 1 yd Baize 4/0, 3½ yds Duffil 19/10d, 1 Rubstone 5d, 3½ yds Quality 5d, 1 Sheet pasteboard 9d, 10 lbs Sugar 6/8 1 Twist 4d, 4 yds Taste 8d, ¾ yd blk Tiffany 2/3d, ¾ yds Durant 1/9 Twist & Wine 1/1, 2½ lbs Tobacco 1/1 ⅛th Cambrick 1¼ 7 lights 9 by 7 Glass 2/7½, 1 Quire paper 1/6 1½ yds Florentine 9/3d"

Another original document is added herewith, indicating that the Hon. Samuel Fowler, foremost among his townsmen in wealth, public spirit and generosity, was yet not willing to be taken advantage of by a light-fingered criminal even though the sum purloined was insignificant.

"To the Worshipfull John Ingersoll Esqr. one of the Justices assigned to keep the peace in & for the County of Hampshire—

"Samuel Fowler of Westfield in said County complains & to your honor informs that one Cyrus Sanderson late resident in said Westfield, Labourer, on the seventeenth day of December 1801 at said Westfield with force & arms did feloniously steal & carry away from the store of Ashbel Eager & Co. one silver piece of money called Ninepence or one Eighth part of

a Spanish Milled Dollar & one half pistereen being one tenth part of a Dollar aforesaid the said Ninepence being equal to Twelve Cents & a half & the said half pistereen being ten cents contrary to law in such case made & provided, whereupon your complainant prays process against the said Cyrus, that he may be apprehended & be made to do & suffer what the Law requires in such cases. Samuel Fowler.
"Westfield Dec. 17th 1801.
"Witnesses: Ashbel Eager, Charles Douglass."

The year before the Westfield Academy opened its doors to the youth of both sexes a private school was in operation, but when it started, what the ages of the pupils were expected to be, and what branches of learning they pursued do not appear from the following subscription paper which is still preserved:

"We the Subscribers Severally promise to pay Miss Lucy Mosley the sum that shall be assigned to us respectively on the school bill for the next Season according to the number of Scholars & the number of days each scholar shall attend immediately upon the school ceasing—

"Westfield April 13th 1799.

Samuel Fowler	One	Stephen Ashley	2
John Ingersoll		Saml Kellogg.	
Jacob Morse	2	Israel Ashley	
Ezra Clap	2	Abel Whitney."	

As a contract it is delightfully vague, showing great confidence in Miss Mosley, leaving the terms to her judgment and discretion, and yet leaving a loophole such that, in case her charges should prove exorbitant, payment could be demanded for a period no longer than that of a pupil's actual attendance.

Private libraries at that period were not commonly extensive, and most of their contents would not prove popular at this later day.

Advertisements of new issues from the press often appeared. Massachusetts Gazette—"Just out of the Press, and now selling at the Printing Office, a beautiful Edition of Dr. Watt's Divine Songs, attempted in easy Language for the use of CHILDREN. Printing Office, July 15, 1783."

Another appeared as follows, in the same year: "Just Published, at Hartford, and to be sold by the Printer hereof, The

First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language, Containing a new and accurate Standard of Pronunciation, By Noah Webster, A.M." That afterward became known as "Webster's Spelling-book," and its popularity is established by the fact that in 1889 it was claimed that 62,000,000 copies of it had been published.

Hampshire Herald, Feb. 14, 1786. Advertisement.—"To the Lovers of Sentiment. There is now preparing for the press, and will shortly be published, a judicious collection of the Miscellaneous Papers, that have appeared to the publick through the channel of the Springfield newspaper. This work has been read by many of the Literati of this State with admiration. In this work the Sentimentalist may find a rich and delicate repast—the Divine and Moralist a copious dish of sentimental Sustenance, and the Lover of poetick Numbers an exuberant embellishment of the most sublime poetry. Gentlemen disposed to honor us with their subscriptions for this work, are required to forward their names by the 20th inst. as the work will then be committed to the press."

Hampshire Chronicle. Wednesday, Aug. 31, 1791. "Bennett's Letters. Just come to hand and to be sold at this Office. Letters to a Young Lady, on a variety of *useful and interesting subjects:* Calculated to *improve* the *heart*, to *form* the *manners*, and *enlighten* the *understanding*. 'That our daughters may be as polished corners of the temple.' By the Rev. James Bennett, author of Strictures on Female Education. In Two Volumes, bound in one.

"This work recommends in the following order, I. RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE, with a List of proper Writers. II. Polite Knowledge, as it relates to the Belles Lettres in general: Epistolary writing, History, the Lives of Particular Persons, Geography, Astronomy, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Heraldry, Voyages, Travels, &c. with a Catalogue of, and Criticism upon, the most approved authors under each article. III. Accomplishments, as displayed in Needlework, Embroidery, Drawing, Musick, Dancing, Dress, Politeness &c. IV. Prudential Conduct and Maxims, with respect to Amusements, Love, Courtship, Marriage &c."

The Puritanic animosity toward many forms of popular amusement was still so strong in the last decade of the century

that a petition of the famous American company of players for permission to open a theater in Boston under proper regulations, was refused in June, 1790. In the following year, in response to a petition of thirty-eight gentlemen to the selectmen, a great town meeting was held in Faneuil Hall where the morality of plays was discussed and when finally the question was put to vote, "Theatre or no Theatre," the majority in favor was overwhelming.

The opposition to dancing was not so pronounced, and the young people enjoyed it in a staid and formal way. There were assemblies in this part of New England as well as in the fashionable capitals, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Among the archives of the Westfield Atheneum is a small card, of three and a half by two and a half inches, with an ornamental border, bearing the following invitation:

"Dancing Assembly.
Northampton 26 April, 1792.

The honor of Miss Polly Ashley's Company is requested at the Northampton Dancing Assembly this evening.

John Stoddard Wm Edwards	George Rogers Eben. Hunt junr.	Managers."

The methods of transportation were such as seem at this day tedious and painful, while still they were a vast improvement on the primitive method of riding on the back of an animal. McMaster says that the first four-horse stage coach began its trips in 1744, and that the first stage running regularly between New York and Philadelphia began its trips in 1756, and consumed three days in covering the distance. "The New England Town & County Almanack" for 1769 announces two coaches a week between Boston and Providence, making the run in one day.

At the close of the second war with Great Britain four coaches started daily, except Sunday, from New York for Philadelphia, and on the reverse trip. The "Pilot Stage" began its trip at 5 A.M. and reached its destination in from fourteen to sixteen hours, carrying ten passengers in the pleasant seasons of the year, for ten dollars apiece.

The caption of this chapter is sufficiently broad to justify the crowding into it quite a heterogeneous mass of items of

curious interest garnered from various quarters. They will be added without apology for their wide diversity of topics. From time to time, from the earliest days of the Colony, towns asserted their rights of protection from the settlement within their boundaries of objectionable people. As late as December, 1790, the Selectmen of Westfield were "directed to do their Duty respecting warning out Persons not by Law Inhabitants of the Town."

The following items are culled from the weekly journals of the period.

Among the letters advertised in the Hampshire Herald in November, 1785, as awaiting claimants in the Springfield post-office, perhaps held for postage, are several for people in Westfield, and two for Ethan Allen, Bennington.

The following communication appears in an earlier issue:

"Westfield, Apr. 14, 1785. Messrs Stebbins and Russell, Your admission in the Herald of the subsequent instance of the powerful charms of Venus, will gratify the wish of many of your customers—Was married here a few days since Capt. J – n B – ft. to Miss M – m B – t, after the moderate courtship of about thirty years."

Sept. 17, 1786. "Religious Zeal—A King's soldier in the civil wars in England full of zeal, and liquor, staggered against a church and slapping the wall of it repeatedly with his hands, hiccoughed out—'damn you, never fear: I'll stand by you to the last."

"Northampton, August 31, 1791: Just opened a store of Drugs and Medicines in Westfield in the store lately occupied by Solomon Phelps, near Adnah Sackett's Inn. Zephaniah H. Judson."

Seth Wetmore, who had married General Shepard's daughter Nancy, advertised Salt in exchange for Flax Seed or any kind of Country Produce. A large assortment of Crockery and Earthen Ware, and at a later date, "Good English Rum for sale by bbl. or less and would buy Hog's Bristles and good Red Clover Seed." Seth Wetmore's grandson was the late Hon. George Peabody Wetmore, for many years the influential U. S. Senator from Rhode Island.

"Westfield, Nov. 8, 1791. An elaborate supply of Dry Goods & Groceries, Wine, Crockery & Glass Ware at Store of

Solo Phelps & Co. at their store between Sacket's and Clap's taverns."

"Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur" as many a struggling student discovered in his early studies in Latin. The following action was so natural, according to the manners and customs of an earlier age, as to occasion then no more amazement than the launching of a lottery by the town to build a bridge over Great river, in the same period: "This Indenture made this tenth Day of March in the year of our Lord 1794, between Zechariah Bush junr Aaron Dewey and Paul Whitney, all of Westfield, in the County of Hampshire, & Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Gentlemen & Selectmen & Overseers of the poor of sd Town, of the one Part:—& John Bancroft of the same Westfield, Gentleman, of the other Part, Witnesseth, that the sd Zechariah Bush, Aaron Dewey & Paul Whitney, in their sd Capacity of Selectmen & Overseers of the poor of the Town of Westfield, have put & bound & hereby do put & bind, Cato, a poor Negro Boy, between thirteen and fourteen years of age,—Also Stephen, a poor Negro Boy, between two & three years of Age, unto the sd John Bancroft, & with him to live, & him to serve, as Men-Servants, from the Date hereof, untill they shall each arrive at the Age of twenty-one years:—during all which Time, the sd Cato & Stephen, shall well & faithfully serve the sd John their Master, (or in Case of the sd John's Decease the same service is mutually understood to be due to his legal Representative) his Secrets keep, & his Commands obey: they shall not wilfully do him Damage, nor waste, consume, embezzle, or lend his Goods, they shall not frequent Tavarns, play at unlawful Games, commit Fornication, or contract Matrimony, during sd Term, nor absent themselves from their sd Master's Service:—but in all things as faithful Servants they shall bear & behave themselves toward the sd John & his Family during the whole Term aforesaid.—

"And the sd John, for his Part, doth covenant & agree with the sd Zechariah Bush, Aaron & Paul in manner following; Viz. that he will teach his sd Men-Servants, or cause them to be taught by the best Means he can, the whole Trade, Art & Mystery of Husbandry. & will also find & provide for them during sd Term, good & sufficient Meat, Drink, Washing, Lodging & Apparel, & all other Necessaries, both in Sickness & Health,

fitting such Men servants: & at the End of sd Term, will provide for & give them, double Apparel: Viz. one full suit of Apparel meet & proper for working Days, & one other suit of Apparel meet & proper to wear on the Lord's Days. And the sd John doth also covenant with the sd Zechariah, Aaron & Paul, that he will during the sd Term, take all reasonable Pains, Care & Expense, to teach & cause to be taught the sd Men Servants, reading Writing & Arithmetic in a manner suitable to their Degree.—

"In Witness whereof, the Parties have hereunto set their Hands & Seals the Day & Year before mentioned.

Signed sealed & deliver'd	Zech Bush Jr	*
in Presence of us—	Aaron Dewey	*
Warham Parks	Paul Whitney	*
Silas Bush	John Bancroft	*

Another sidelight on the character of the times is found in an advertisement in the Hampshire Gazette: "Fifteen Shillings and Six-pence Reward. Ran away from the Subscriber, two apprentices, named John Gillmore and John Buckley. Gilmore is about 23 years of age, bound himself to serve the subscriber for the term of 3 years for the purpose of learning the Joiner's business. He made off with himself sometime in August last. Buckley is about 17 years old and has some knowledge of the Joiner's trade: He ran away in August. Whoever will take up said Runaways and return them to the Subscriber shall have the above reward—or for Buckley only, fifteen shillings, paid by John Tallett. Westfield, January 6, 1790."

In May, 1780, it was voted to instruct the town Representative to the General Court to endeavor to procure a lottery to rebuild the bridge. The same action was taken in the following year, and again May 27, 1782.

The bill for a lottery to raise funds for the bridge which the town did not feel able to build without aid from sources outside was finally secured from the General Court. A very interesting original copy of the act, preserved among the papers of the late Hon. James Fowler, has been presented by his grandchildren, Mr. Samuel J. Fowler and Miss Frances Fowler of Cambridge, Mass., and Prof. Harold N. Fowler of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, to the Western Hampden

Historical Society. It may be seen, properly framed, on the wall of the Westfield Atheneum.

The Berkshire Chronicle of Pittsfield, Mar. 25, 1790, presents an attractive advertisement of "The Managers of the Williamstown Free School Lottery," the scheme of the sixth class of the enterprise, to be drawn without fail on April 12 following. It was urged upon the public on the ground that there were "NOT TWO BLANKS to a PRIZE." There were 3,500 tickets at two dollars each, with 1,174 prizes amounting to $6,004, leaving a profit of but $996 to the enterprise if every ticket were sold for cash. The unquestionable respectability of the enterprise was shown, not only by the worthiness of the object to be benefited, but also by the reputable character of the board of managers, William Williams, Woodbridge Little, Tompson J. Skinner, Israel Jones, Daniel Brown.

At the same time a state lottery was advertised to be drawn in the Representatives' Chamber in Boston, the Speaker of the House having been one of the Board of Managers.

It is an interesting fact to consider in this connection that a few years later, early in the following century, President Eliphalet Nott of Union College went to the New York Legislature and secured authority to raise funds for that institution by a similar scheme.

The lottery was one of the common features of "the good old times" of which we hear so much, but most fortunately is now abolished by national legislation.

"Mar. 14, 1791 The Selectmen were directed to run the Line between Westfield & Montgomery to ascertain in which town Lt. Falley resided.

"Voted that the Town purchase of the Proprietors the Boat lately built over the great River: & that the Selectmen be directed to make the Purchase of the said Proprietors,—appoint some suitable Person or Persons to tend the Ferry & establish the Rates of Passage: the Inhabitants of the Town to pass free of Expense."

"Voted that several Bulls shall be provided the present year for the use of the Town: & that William Shepard Esq. Warham Parks Esq. Jed Taylor & Zadoc Martindale be a Committee to procure said Bulls & allot them to the different parts of the Town."

Though the great majority of the people of Westfield during early days devoted their time and energy chiefly to agricultural pursuits, there are sundry indications that many of its people possessed more or less mechanical and inventive ability. The following appeal is an instance in proof of the fact:

"Westfield March 16th 1800.

"Hon. Wm Shepard Esq. Sr—I was imployed in the publick Works at Springfield the last Summer to make a machine to grind or rather file Gunbarrels to go by water. I performed the task which cost me many a sleepless night as well as very close & intense thought, for which I received a bare days wages the invention is of great utility & advantage to the publick & it will save them a great expense. I am told *Dr Fobes* who resides at the works and who is under very handsome pay claims the merit of the invented machine. he is not the inventor but I claim the same and if there is any merit in it, as the machine will best determine, I pray that it may pass to my credit. I am sure many Gentlemen in Springfield who are knowing to the whole transaction, will hear me witness to this my assertion. I therefore wish you Sr to do me Justice, to wait on the Secretary of War (if he is the right person) & inform him of this my claim, & to have the matter rightly understood request him to direct Col. Joseph Williams of Springfield or some other Gentleman who is knowing to the whole proceeding to state to the Secretary a just representation of my Claim & my merit in the business that if any merit is attached to it that it may be placed to the inventors credit, whether I shall be entitled to any compensation or not, at least to place me in a favourable point of light to the publick.

"I am respectfully your h'ble Servant, Philander Noble."

Just about the beginning of the new century there was a large immigration of people from Connecticut and western Massachusetts to the opening territory which now constitutes Lewis County, N. Y., in "the Black River Country." The same land hunger which had prompted their forebears to forsake well established settlements and go forth into the wilderness for larger acreage, room and freedom, moved these descendants to seek similar privileges in the wilds of the vast Adirondack region, the great wilderness of northern New York,

so much of which, even at this late day, is still unsubdued and familiar only to lumberman, trapper and sportsman. The Oneida Indians, native owners of the territory now composing Lewis County, on Sept. 22, 1788, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, ceded the lands to the State of New York. Three years later, on June 22, 1791, Alexander Macomb, who had emigrated from Ireland to New York in 1742, purchased for eight cents an acre, a tract of 3,670,715 acres which became known as "Macomb's Purchase" lying in the present counties of Franklin, St. Lawrence, Jefferson and Lewis. The part of the Purchase comprising Lewis County was conveyed on June 6, 1792, to Williams Constable of New York. Two months later Constable sold a tract south of it comprising 630,000 acres to Peter Chassanis of Paris, who acted as agent for an association which, under the name of "LA COMPAGNIE DE NEW YORK," entered upon a great land-selling scheme to prospective settlers. Three men were sent over to survey and dispose of it. Des Jardines, who had been chamberlain to Louis XVI, Pharaux, an architect and engineer, and Brunel, who afterward became famous as the founder of the machine shops of the Royal Navy Yard at Portsmouth, and the engineer of the Thames tunnel.

In 1797, Nicholas Low opened lands for sale in what became known as Lowville. People from New England were exploring for homes that portion of the state. "One of these companies from Westfield, Mass., consisting of Enoch Lee, Russell Pond, Eliud Stephens and Jonathan Rogers, was returning from a tour to the Genesee Country where it was found sickly. At Whitesboro they found Mr. Charles C. Brodhead, who had but recently been employed in surveying lands on the Black River. He turned their attention to that region, and crossing the Mohawk, set them on a line of marked trees that led to the future homes of three of their number." (History of Lewis County, N. Y., Franklin B. Hough, p. 139.)

The author was the son of Dr. Horatio G. Hough of Southwick, Mass., who pursued his classical studies under the Rev. Isaac Clinton of that place, both of whom later emigrated to Lowville.

Eliud Stephens took the first contract for a tract of four hundred acres from Mr. Low, at $3.00 per acre. He returned

east early in the following year with Jonathan Rogers (son of Jonathan who died in Westfield in March, 1805, aged ninety years) to bring back their respective families. The party consisted of Jonathan Rogers and his children Bela, Polly and Isaac; Eliud Stephens, his wife Mercy, and their children Clarissa, Apollos and Harvey; Jesse Wilcox, Philemon Hoadley, Zebulon Rogers, and Elijah and Justus Wilcox. The difficulties of their journey at that season are hardly conceivable, but they succeeded in covering more than two hundred miles and reaching the last clearing in Turin. At the High Falls on the Black River they halted to build a boat to convey them and their goods twenty miles farther. With a pit saw, borrowed from some French settlers, and such tools as they had brought, they constructed a flat-bottomed boat, 25 feet long and 7 feet wide, which "was probably the first vessel larger than a log canoe that had floated on Black River." After having waited impatiently for the ice to break up they were able to start, April 10, with their craft loaded almost down to the gunwale. After having barely escaped shipwreck in perilous rapids, they floated down the stream to Lowville creek and poled up it to where, near sunset, their farther passage was barred by a tree which had fallen across the stream. They had been inconvenienced en route by the limbs of overhanging trees, especially Clarissa Stephens, who was swept out of the boat and rescued with difficulty. Her sister Jane, born Feb. 20, 1802, was the first child born in the town. Among other early arrivals from Westfield were Mrs. Richard Arthur and six sons, Bradford, Levi, Richard, Russell, Joseph and Elisha; the husband had died at Westfield in 1790, leaving eleven children; Levi Adams, who was elected to the State Senate in 1819 and served in many local offices until the time of his death, June 18, 1831, aged 68. Eli Rogers arrived in 1802 and was a useful citizen until his death, April 12, 1849, aged 80.

Zeboim Carter arrived in 1799. He served as colonel in the war of 1812, and died April 22, 1853, aged 81 years. John Atwater was the first distiller in the county, kept an inn until 1808, when he sold it to another Westfield man, Enoch Lee, and returned to his former home. The latter died June 17, 1834, aged 77, leaving five sons who became heads of families. Justus Sacket died Feb. 28, 1831, aged 52 years. Stephen Root

died Aug. 25, 1857. Dr. Walter Dewey, son of John, was born in Westfield, Aug. 20, 1785, and died Feb. 28, 1821. He was the first physician and built the first house in Turin. His cousin, Dr. Walter Dewey, son of Aaron, born at Westfield, Oct. 3, 1791, settled at Turin in 1816, and practiced his profession there until his death on Nov. 13, 1839.

Captain Winthrop Shepard died Sept. 24, 1854, aged 82, and his brother Gideon died Dec. 12, 1850, aged 81. Both served in the war of 1812, as was natural in their family, they having been nephews of Gen. William Shepard.

Others who went thither from Westfield were Rufus, Harry, Ira and Truman Stephens; Silas and William Dewey: Bela, Putnam and Roland Buel: John, Orem, Silas and Maj. Zachariah Bush: Silas and Winthrop Weller: Eli Rogers, Maj. Ezra Clapp, Ichabod Tuttle, Philemon Hoadley, Justus Woolworth, Collins and Silas Kellogg, Edward Bancroft, Samuel Dean, Justus Sacket, Stephen Root, Levi Adams, Richard Russell, Jr., and William King.

Lewis county was certainly much enriched and Hampshire county much impoverished by that great exodus.

As previously stated, William Shepard married Sarah Dewey, a sister of Adjutant Russell Dewey. William's brother, Enoch, married Esther Dewey, another sister, March 15, 1762, the ceremony having been performed by Rev. John Ballantine.

Enoch Shepard was among the earliest settlers of the Ohio valley. Whether the land upon which he settled was allotted to him for his services as a Revolutionary soldier or whether he secured it by purchase, the price to the Ohio Company who exploited it charged by the United States government having been but eight or nine cents an acre, cannot now be determined. It is not strange that he with many others from Hampshire county should have been attracted by such a prospectus, over such an honorable name as that of Gen. Rufus Putnam, as that which appeared in a Springfield newspaper, the Hampshire Herald, Jan. 17, 1786, followed by another in May.

This letter from Enoch Shepard gives an interesting sketch of conditions in the newly settled region soon after it had begun to fill up with settlers from the east:

"Marietta 2d May 1790.

"Dear Brother & Sister—After my love to you, would inform that we are all well throu the Divine Goodness of God, as I hope these lines will find your selves and Family. Its a General time of Health and Peace in our settlement we have not Received any Damage from the Indians this year as yet except some horses stolen by them.—But their has Been several Kentucky boats taken by them near the Siota River 218 miles from this Also some murders committed by them att Kentucky and att the miami, 400 or 500 miles from hear we have Received letters from General Putnam of a large number of emigrants from Urope that have purchased the land at Siota—and are Lately arrived at Allaxandria coming on this June to begin their settlement at the above named Siota. we have Encouraging Prospects in this part of the country, as its Exceedingly fruitfull all kinds of Provisions is Cash in hand on this side of the Alliganie mountains and at an high Price, Ocasioned by the vast quantity of Flower Daily Passing Down to the Spanish Settlements at the mouth of Missisippi River and sold at an high price. Also whiskey for which the Spanniards will give more than Double the Price of westindia Rum whereas we should be willing to Exchange even for it hear. their is a great Scarcity of Bread in these parts from the cause above hinted, and some by the soldiers, we suffered Greatly by the uncommon Early Frost last year as the People had the most of their Land to clear and fence before Planting last year which Brought the most of their Planting into june and some into July. I Planted new England Corn in July that Got Ripe and sound and some planted of it early and it got Ripe and sound fit for grinding by the 20th of July. If the season is favourable this year its Probable we shall Raise three times the Bread the Present Inhabitants will want this year as their a constant stream of Emmigrants Pouring into this Large Country their will always be an internal Demand for Provisions hear. if it should not its Easy Floating it to the Spanniards or to any part of the world. thus Dear Brother in your Letter you Desired me to let you no if a man could make money hear Easy or not. and in what way—Can any People wish to get money more easy than from a Land Producing by handfulls having a Ready market a high Price a healthy climate, mild Pleasant seasons

(Boath winter and summer). we have not had more than one fortnet this winter but what has been good Plowing. the Ladys adorning themselves with Blossoms and flowers from the fields in the month of march.

"I believe no new country ever made such Advance in cultivating their Lands and having a speedy supply of all necessaryes and Luxuries of Life * * *

"if any of my old friends should think of moving into these parts, should advise to move in the summer season, and as money is hard to be got a man may turn his Propperty for English goods shoues and such Like, in a general way shoues are nine shillings pr pair Lawfull money Powder five shillings pr pound and English goods one third more than with you its for a mans Interest to fetch on two thirds of his Interest or Propperty in those articles than to have it all in money * * *

"have not Received but two letters from General Shepard one from the Docr one from major Taylor one from your self. Should be Exceeding glad to hear often from all of you. some of you say you have no Oppertunity. if you are disposed you may Right your Letters Leave them with the ferriman at Springfield and I Presume he might convey them to this Place almost every week. Should be Exceeding glad to see some of you in these parts. Please to give my Duty to mother Shepard, Love to Brothers and Sisters my Respects to all enquiring friends. I consider myself under Special Obligation to major Taylor for his Letter and tell him I hope soon to Right him Perticularly about this Land of Canaan.

from your Affectionate Brother
Enoch Shepard."

The original of that interesting letter is now in possession of Miss Addie Shepard of Westfield, a great-granddaughter of General William. The General Putnam to whom reference is made above was General Rufus, one of the most notable and worthy patriots of Colonial, Revolutionary, and later times until well into the 18th century. He served from 1757, when he was 19 years old, to 1761, in the French and Indian War. For the excellence of his work in planning and constructing the Continental lines of defense at Roxbury, he was detailed by Washington as acting chief-engineer of the army, and was con-

firmed in that position by Congress. Choosing rather to serve in the field, he was made colonel of the 5th Massachusetts regiment.

In March, 1787, he was chosen, with two others, a director in the Ohio Company, organized a year earlier with a capital of $1,000,000 in public securities for the purchase of land in the Northwest Territory. Putnam was made superintendent of the company, a million and a half acres of land having been secured from the Government, and April 7, 1788, he landed with a party of emigrants at the mouth of the Muskingum River, founded Marietta, and thus began the first organized settlement of the Northwest Territory.

Great efforts were made to secure New England investors in this enterprise. It was advertised in the Gazette. Enoch Shepard and family and his brother Gideon were among the early settlers there.

"Marieta Nov. 29th 1791

"Dear Uncle—It is with great pleasure I take this opportunity to ansur your Kind Letter of Oct. 21 by Mr Witham These lines will inform that we are all in good health through the goodness of God as I hope these lines will find you and family and all the rest of my Friends Dear Sir you inform me Mr Newton has called on you and given frightfull accounts of our situation. Mr Newton was disaffected we could expect nothing from him but unfavorable accounts—our situation is not so agreeable at present but we anticipate grate Satisfaction wen the war ends the inhabitants have raised a sufficientcy of Corn for their own consumption besides A grate quantity of English grain—there is Corn sufficient for the inhabitants too years and swine increase here to such A degree we hardly know oure own. we kill most pigs where we please you say our Situation must be dismal soon reduce us to poverty but our land flows with milk and honey papa has disiplined his beese so that when they have filled their hive tha leave it for us—we have every neceserie of life as to hunting we go when we please and we have enough we have bear and venison and turkey without number. Luther killed 3 at one shot we have a sufficientcy of beaf and Pork

"as to indien news we have none have not heard or Seen any this three months it Seems tha are all gone to protect their own country

"Worthy Sir shall conclude for fear of tiering your Patience with my Simple Letter

"Mama sends love to you and all the wrest of hur Brothers and Sisters

"I remain affectionate Nice Anna Shepard."

Please to Give my
Love to all inquiring Friend
to Mr. Russell Dewey Westfield"

There is also a letter from her Mother, Esther, wife of Enoch Shepard and sister of Russell Dewey, dated five days later than Anna's and probably sent to Westfield at the same time. She expresses indignation against Mr. Newton and his dolorous report. She boasts of the variety of fruit trees which they had, peaches, cherries, pears, plums, "Our signofurder apple sciones that Mr. Stanley brought gro finely one of them grew five feet the first year." They had fifteen hives of bees, some of which contained thirty weight each of honey. Summing up she says, "In short we want nothing but Contented minds to make us happy. Some things are dear such as Salt and Sugar Spirits and some such things but we hope to have our salt Springs agoing soon we have a plenty of Sugar trees and shall be able to make our own Sugar if not molested by the indians there is three stills set up in this place and in a few years I believe we shall be independent."

The last meeting of the shareholders of the Ohio Company was held in Massachusetts in March, 1788, when they adjourned to meet in July in "the country on the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers." A military post had been established there by Major Doughty under the name of Fort Harmar in 1786, on the right bank of the Muskingum at its junction with the Ohio. It was a regular pentagon containing about three-quarters of an acre. There the first settlement was made, there the first sermon was preached in the "bower" on the bank of the Muskingum on Sunday, July 20, 1788, by William Breck, a member of the Company from Massachusetts.

"During the summer of 1789 the first frame house was built in Marietta by Joseph Buell and Levi Munsell, who intended it for a tavern. The timber for it was prepared by Capt. Enoch Shepard at McKeesport, Pa., who made it into a raft

upon which he brought his family to Marietta." (The History of Marietta, Thomas J. Summers, B.A., p. 76.)

Such were the conditions under which lived this redoubtable family of emigrants from Westfield at that distant frontier post. The sons were Enoch, Daniel, Luther and Calvin. The daughters were Esther, Anna, Rhoda, Lorana and Hulda.

A recent letter from the Librarian of Marietta College declares that not one of Enoch Shepard's descendants is now living in Marietta.

Col. Ebenezer Sproat, associated with Col. Wm. Shepard in the Revolution, was settled at the "point." He was the first Sheriff, 1788 to 1802.

"In August, eight families arrived from New England, amongst them were those of General Tupper, Major Cushing, Major Goodale, Major Coburn, and Mr. Ichabod Nye; and in the course of the year there were fifteen families in all, with eighty-four men, which with the forty-eight who landed on the 8th of April, enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-two, in the year 1788. At the close of this year, Marietta was the only white settlement in the territory now constituting the state of Ohio." (S. P. Hildreth, Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley, p. 234.)

The affairs at home during the absence of the head of the family at the sessions of Congress, and the loyal affection in which he was held by those left in charge, are clearly pictured in letters from his children.

"Westfield–May 13th '98

"Hond. Sir Your letter to me of Apr. 25th I received on Tuesday last. Yesterday Mama received one in which was enclosed a bill of 20 dollars, and Sally has this day received another dated May fifth—for your letters and money we return our most cordial thanks. I am happy to hear of the recovery of your health which has given me great anxiety. Warham left us on Wednesday last for the westward. I hope he will enjoy health and prosperity in his absence from us and likewise through life. * * * We are all of us ardently anticipating your return you have been a long time from home, but I hope we shall now soon have the pleasure of your company. Mama has so much care upon her hands she hardly knows how to get along with it, but does the best in her power—the Boys have

finished ploughing & planting. We are not like to have but few apples the approaching season. In your letter to Sally you mentioned that you intend to procure some muslin: we should be very glad of enough for each of us a gown if you think you can afford them. The family are well and desire their respects to you.

"I am sir with great respect your ever

"Dutiful Daughter

"Nancy Shepard."

To show still further the care for his home interests exercised by the family, an extract is added from a letter of his son Noah, written April 27th, 1800:

"We have sowed the spring wheat, Oats and some flaxseed and have repaired most all the fence. we have had considerable rain yesterday and the river is high and shall as soon as 'twill do repair the fence on the Island, have plowed some for planting and got out all your dung and have spread it on the grass land. * * * We have got most of the cattle and horses out to pasture and the grass looks green and promising and ther is nothing runs in your home lot to injure that."

One more family letter with its local news and color must be given for the light which it sheds upon the period, sent by Nancy to her Father in Philadelphia:

"Westfield Jany 7th 1800.

"Hond. Sir. Your two letters, one of the 13th and the other of the 21st ult have been received was happy to hear of your safe arrival at the seat of Government, but sorry to hear that your journey was so distressing. I think the Capt did very wrong in not acquainting the passengers previous to their going on board, of the situation of his vessel. The very afflicting news of the Death of the late, great, good & Illustrious Gen'l Washington was announced to us some days before your letter arrived. How distressing must be the event, for surely every one, who loves his Country or is a friend to greatness worth & virtue, must lament, *gently* lament the loss of the man, who was first in war, first in peace. The Father of his Country & the lover of mankind; Now we may with propriety say, how is the mighty fallen, but I trust tho Washington the Great is

no more, yet his name and bright example must ever live. and millions yet unborn will read and hear with admiration the deeds of that Illustrious man.

"On Wednesday last was the Dedication of our Academy Doct. Lathrop gave us a most excellent sermon from Psalms 144th—12th, that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth: that our Daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace. The concourse of People on the ocation was very numerous."

In an earlier letter, written Dec. 30, 1799, Noah refers to the great national calamity of which Nancy speaks. "We have just heard the disagreeable news of the death of Genl Washington whose death I believe will be lemented by all and Revd Atwater mentioned it very full in his prayer & appeared to be much affected as also many others in the house did likewise."

The momentous event, according to the Hampshire Gazette of Jan. 1, 1800, was observed by the inhabitants of Northampton and surrounding towns, who went in procession to the meeting house, "where a very ingenious discourse was delivered at the request of Capt. Edwards's Independent Artillery Company of Volunteers, by the Rev. Joseph Lyman from 2d of Samuel, 3d chapter and 38th verse."

The issue of Jan. 29 contains a column of extracts from a sermon of Rev. Dr. Lathrop in Springfield commemorative of Washington.

It is interesting to note in this day of the instantaneous flashing of news from continent to continent that although Washington's death occurred on Dec. 14, 1799, it was not known in Boston until ten days later.

The following letter from Justin Ely to General Shepard, then attending to his duties as member of Congress, contains so many local allusions as to be an interesting document at this late day. Mr. Ely was associated with him on the Board of Trustees of Westfield Academy, whose building was to be dedicated two days later. General Shepard had been so earnest a promoter of the enterprise that he must have felt deep regret that his national responsibilities forbade his presence at the opening exercises.

"West Springfield. Dec. 30, 1799.

"General Shepard.

"Dear Sir; Your favour containing an account of General Washington's death, that great and good man—was duly received. This ought to be considered as a National loss and calamity. He was raised up by Providence and fitted for rendering very great and eminent services to his Country. You was a witness of his eminent services during the whole of the late Revolutionary war in which you bore a distinguished part with him. We ought to be thankful to heaven for continuing him so long—he had accomplished the services heaven designed for him, and is we hope and trust removed to a better world. Doctor Lathrop yesterday gave us a sermon on the occasion, his text was, There is no discharge in that war. * * *

"Mr. John Ashley of this town has offered to give this Parish a fund of 1300£, lawful money, the annual increase arising therefrom to be forever applied for the support of a pious, learned Christian Minister in this Parish, on condition of our erecting a Meeting House on the Great Hill near the River, between the Southern & Northern part of the Parish. On Monday next we shall have a parish meeting to see if the Parish will accept the donation and raise the money to build a Meeting House. It is proposed to get the timber to the spot this winter. It is a very noble and generous donation amounting to $4,333.33. This, when invested in the Public funds or Bank stock will produce about $300—per year. We have also some Meadow lands belonging to the Ministry of this Parish which we propose to sell, these will make about $50 per year more, which will make us about $90. dollars a Quarter in Cash. This will be about sufficient for the Minister's salary exclusive of his wood. The Northern and Southern parts of the Parish will almost unanimously come into the measure. Those at Pocatuck [between the underpass of the State highway, west of Tatham] on the road leading to Westfield are not over fond of it, but they are only about a sixth part of the Parish, some that live there are in favour and the minority will be small. Thus after about 30 years continuance of a broken state, this Parish is likely to be happily united. The Hill is to be called Union Hill.

"There will be no danger of after divisions, the place being

nearly central, and we shall have no 'Separates.' It is thought also we shall have a number more families join us from Agawam.—Thus after all our efforts for union had failed and the people under the Hill were about subscribing to erect a house on the Common, this donation has happily united us. Mr. Ashley has no children, has been very laborious and industrious in earning the money by the hardest work, and now it has pleased heaven to open his heart to give us such a donation to the Parish. It is not to be given by his will which he might hereafter alter, but to be immediately given in Public and good private securities and to begin to operate in March next. It comes from a quarter unexpected and is a matter of rejoicing to us. Heaven can always raise up fit instruments to accomplish its own purposes. Dr. Lathrop is much pleased with our present prospects and says Mr. Ashley will render as essential service to the Parish as he (Mr. Lathrop) has ever done.

"We have had fine Winter weather for some weeks, and as fine sleighing as you ever saw, and sleighs have flown about more than ever.

"On the day after to-morrow, being 'new year day' Doctor Curtiss will take his wife home, he will live for the present in a new house belonging to a son of Capt. Joseph Ely. He marries a daughter of Capt. Joseph Morgan, and bring his wife home the same day, and they will have a house warming as is said.

"The same day the Academy at Westfield is to be dedicated—some propose a Ball in the Academy in the evening, this displeases many of the overseers and they intend to prevent it.

"I have it not in my power to give you any foreign news and you probably do not expect it from the interior part of the Country, but I relate to you our domestic concerns and occurrences just as they happen to arise in my mind and some of them will not be disappointing to you, but it is time to stop for I shall tire your patience.

"I am with much respect and esteem
Your most obedient and humble servant
Justin Ely."

"To Hon William Shepard, Member of Congress, Philadelphia."

Justin Ely was a prominent merchant in West Springfield whose advertisements of general and special merchandise appeared frequently in the local newspapers of that period. He was in Springfield in 1779 by appointment to receive the troops, 2000 in number, ordered to be raised by the General Court, June 8, 1779, and to forward them to fill up the 15 battalions of the State. Colonel Shepard having been there at the same time engaged in the same general enterprise, the two men were drawn into an abiding friendship.

General Shepard's youngest daughter was Lucy; such of her letters as are preserved in the Atheneum are affectionate and newsy. In one, written a few weeks after her twentieth birthday, she makes a request which shows that in spite of the stern economy which the family had to practice because of straitened finances, she had a natural love of modest finery: "I wish sir if convenient you would get us some moroca shoes at Philadelphia when you return—a pair of black ones for Mama and a pair of red ones for me. I shall inclose the measures."

Sally writes her Father at Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1798, telling him about her having kept New Year day with Dr. Sumner and Lady and enjoying roast turkey. She says, "Col. Moseley is getting better though he has lost the use of one side."

Seth Wetmore writes his Father-in-Law from Williamstown, Nov. 25, 1797, the day after he had left Westfield, speaking of having seen advertised in the Porcupine Gazette, tickets in the 2d class of the Canal lottery and wanted to have the General buy him one for $10. He hoped that the General's ticket "proved a fortunate one." P.S. "Your Wine had not arrived yesterday."

In a letter of April 7, 1800, from Canandaigua, N. Y., William, Jr., expresses heartiest filial appreciation and gratitude. He sees little hope of getting a Government appointment in the Reserve. He speaks of a Mr. T—— from Northampton who had spent the winter there and was seeking a clerkship, but "he has the character of a profain wretch, a Deist and a most violent antifederalist." He must have been beyond the pale of hope when thus discredited in both theology and politics.

The following letter from a young girl from Westfield, who

for some reason was sojourning in Northampton, to girl friends at home is so characteristic of the times in several respects as to justify quoting it in full. It was written not far from the close of the eighteenth century, though the exact year is not specified. The original is in the Westfield Atheneum with others quoted in this chapter.

"Northampton July 31.

"My dear Friends. As Elvira Atkins is to leave town in the morning I thought of my good acquaintance & had an earnest wish to write a line & much more to see them. Time here rools slowly with me almost all strangers to me but those few I have form'd acquaintance with I hope & trust are the humble followers of our Saviour. My desire is but few intimates in a place like this. I shall only give you a faint idea of Northampton, firstly Fashion rules & governs the multitude, dress of all kinds, amusements of every Kind. I think when I see them *as it appiars* regardless of God & every thing of or there futer state it is enough to make me contented with my poverty & pity them. Our Pastor Mr Williams one of the excellent of the earth, how I wish I could relate his sermon to you but you will soon hear him yourself. I am daily looking to see some one from Westfield and very seldom meet with any one. Mrs Esqr. Fowler call'd upon us this morning her countenance looked more like home to me. I live in hopes to see you soon—

"Laura I must write you the small tour after I left you on that unfortunate Friday. I had not rode but a few miles before it began to rain very hard accompanied with heavy thunder & sharp lightening, it appeared to me I should not reach Northampton on the Stage full of passengers & all shut up I said *O dear* more than once I was very faint & almost hungry being so unwell the night before. The rain tore the road all to pieces the gentlemen I presume were obliged to get out of the Stage ten times & once we were all to do as well as possible walk a great ways the Stage pass'd over hedges & ditches hills & holes & the horses being so wet & plagu'd would not step one inch but stood still. I thought patience was good at all times & at times in particular. once we were obliged to be drawn up hill by some of a neighbor's oxen & at last arriv'd: & now I must say any other day but Friday—*I would not marry*

a Minister on Friday. now girls come & see me Amelia is a going home to-morrow Ruth is with me. do Laura think of me & write every opportunity. Sophia I shall look sharp for you—give my love to all your families

S. Osborn

"Miss Sophia & Laura Dewey."

They were the daughters of Adjutant Russell Dewey. Laura married Noah Shepard and Sophia married Rev. Mr. Perry.

"Nov. 30, 1791. Voted to excuse those Persons who usually attend Meeting with Mr. Hamilton & also those who usually attend meeting with Mr. Story from any share of the Expense of building the Steeple & repairing the meeting house."

Apr. 7, 1794. Wm Shepard, Moderator. "Voted that the Selectmen be directed to provide, as soon as may be, a decent Grave Cloth at the Expense of the Town. Voted not to permit the Innoculation for the Small Pox."

That was two years after Jenner first brought his discovery to the attention of the medical profession, and two years before he published his celebrated treatise "An Enquiry into the Causes and Effects of Variolae Vaccinae &c."

Oct. 21—Col. James Taylor, Major Abel Whitney, and Dr. Paul Whitney were appointed a Committee to take "an accurate Plan" of the Town agreeably to a late Resolve of the General Court. This action resulted in the first official map of the town, now in the State House at Boston, a certified copy of which is published herewith.

Dec. 24, 1795. The sum of £5 was voted for the support of a Singing School. "Voted to raise a Committee of five to confer with the Singers and endeavor to revive and ameliorate the singing on the Sabbath."

May 4, 1796. "Voted unanimously that the petition of the Grand Jury of the County of Hampshire be accepted by the Town of Westfield & sent to Saml Lyman Esq. to be by him presented to Congress: Praying that the House of Representatives would without delay make the necessary provision for carrying into effect the treaty lately negotiated between the United States & Great Britain. The whole number of Free-

men which composed the meeting was 170 who voted for the petition without a dissenting voice."

That action was an incident of a great popular movement throughout the country which followed the treaty with Great Britain which had been negotiated by John Jay. Many meetings called to oppose it were held in the large cities. In Boston the feeling was so intense that riots testified to the bitterness of the controversy.

The question of an appropriation to carry out the provisions of the treaty came up in the House of Representatives in 1795. Many petitions and memorials from various quarters were sent to the Capitol. At a meeting of "a respectable number of Free holders and other Inhabitants of Hampshire County" held in Northampton, Apr. 27, 1796, it was voted "that the treaty lately negotiated with Great Britain, ought to be carried into immediate effect." A committee of prominent citizens of the County, consisting of Samuel Henshaw, Ebenezer Hunt of Northampton, William Coleman of Greenfield, Jonathan E. Porter of Hadley, Ebenezer Maltover of Amherst, Warham Parks of Westfield, and William Pynchon of Springfield, was appointed to draft a petition to the National House. The report of the Committee was adopted and a vote passed requesting "the Grand jury of the county to forward to each town in the County of Hampshire a copy of the Petition, together with a circular letter desiring their immediate attention to this momentous subject." It was just one week later that the unanimous affirmative action was taken by the voters of Westfield.

A copy of the circular letter was published in the Hampshire Gazette, May 4, 1796, the day of the Westfield meeting. Similar action was taken immediately by many other towns of the County.

At the close of the century, there were sixteen States in the Union, Vermont having been admitted in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796; Ohio followed a little later, in 1802, proving the remarkable rapidity with which people were pressing westward from the States upon the seaboard.

Westfield
and Its Historic Influences

III
Modern Period

CHAPTER I.

Westfield Academy

The vast importance attached to education in the early days of Massachusetts has become proverbial. Poor as the great bulk of the colonists were in material possessions, they made constant sacrifices in order to promote intellectual vigor among all classes of children and youth within the borders of their province. From the beginning of the settlement, plans for the establishment of primary schools were put into execution, and it is a notable fact that within six years after the arrival of Winthrop and his company, namely in 1636, Harvard College was founded. As early as 1647 a law was enacted requiring every town having one hundred or more families to "maintain a grammar school in which children may be prepared for college."

It was not until the latter part of the succeeding century that provision began to be made by private gift and public appropriation for the establishment and maintenance of secondary schools with broader scope and more competent instructors than the free grammar schools could afford. The first attempt of the kind was made in 1783 when a charter for Dummer Academy was granted. A generous bequest of the late Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer provided for the establishment of a free school in Newbury in 1763. It was in order to carry out more fully the purpose of the donor that the trustees applied for an Academy charter. Berwick and Hallowell Academies were respectively chartered in 1790. Fryeburg and Washington in Machias were chartered during the next year. In 1792 Bristol was founded.

Evidences of a movement for the establishment of the seventh Academy in the Commonwealth, the first west of the extreme eastern border, begin to appear in the Westfield town records in January, 1793, when it was "voted that the Town will raise the sum of Three hundred Pounds as a Fund for the Support of an Academy in the Town of Westfield provided an Act of Incorporation can be obtained from the General

Court for that purpose." It was then "voted to raise a Committee to apply to the General Court for an Act of Incorporation for an Academy in the Town of Westfield and Wm Shepard Esq. Saml Fowler Esq. & Jno. Phelps Esq. were chosen for the purpose."

In May following a vote was passed to raise three hundred pounds "for the Purpose of erecting a suitable building for the Accommodation of an Academy in the Town of Westfield."

Strangely enough no other action is recorded for four years, rendering quite startling the vote of April 3, 1797, providing for a committee of nine to report on the most eligible situation on which to erect the buildings for an Academy. The committee consisted of Samuel Fowler, Esq., General Parks, Colonel Taylor, Daniel Fowler, General Shepard, Major Whitney, Joseph Lyman, Esq., John Phelps, Esq., and Major Douglas. A few weeks later the report of that committee was rejected, no intimation being vouchsafed in the records respecting its nature, and it was voted to set the building on Mr. Aaron King's lot on the Green provided it could be secured. Mr. Samuel Kellogg, Lieut. Russell Dewey, Jacob Morse, Samuel Fowler, Esq., and John Atwater were appointed to confer with Mr. King. The result of their conference is given in a record recently discovered in a barrel of documents in a closet of the Town Hall.

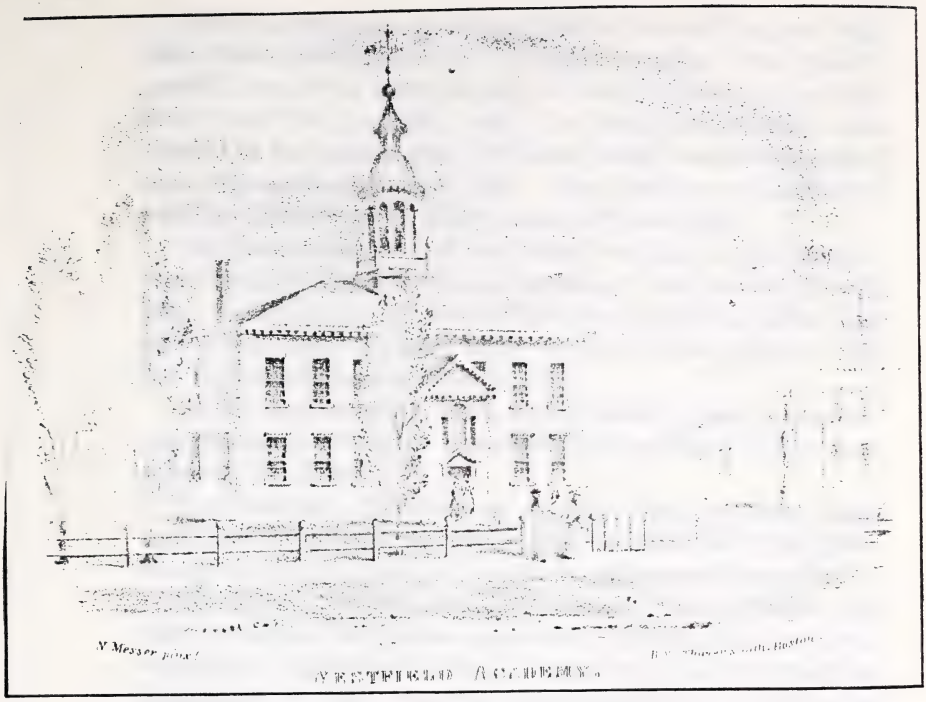
"Westfield 24th May 1797

"The committee appointed by the Town of Westfield on the 18th Instant, to confer with Mr. Aaron King, to see whither he would let them have Land to set the Academy on & what he would ask for it; have obtained the following answer—

"that he will let the Town have half an Acre near the School-House, on the spot which shall be looked upon the most eligible for such a building. He will allow them to make use of ten Rods in front extending rereward sufficient to make the half acre. For the land he asks the small compensation of Eighty Pounds, adding that if the Town should see fit to make use of it, that he will make a present of Twenty Pounds, which he will deduct from the eighty Pounds, to promote an Institution so important to the rising generation.

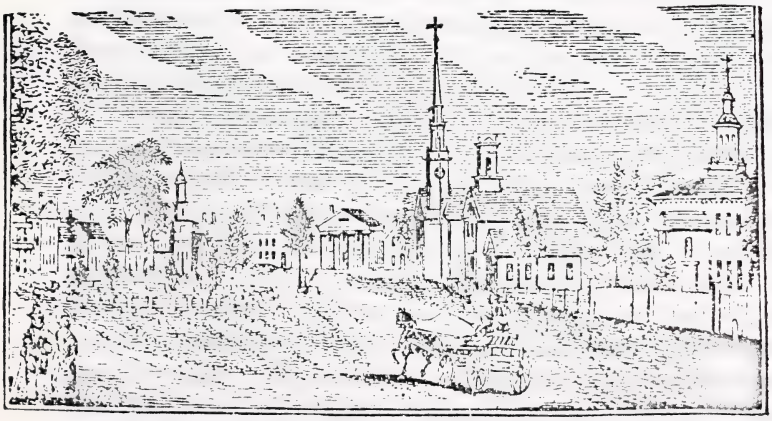
Saml Kellogg Pr Order."

"Not accepted."



THE ORIGINAL ACADEMY BUILDING.

From a rare print kindly furnished by Mrs. Jennie A. P. Bates Greenough.



"THE GREEN," 1838.

From Barber's "Historical Collections, Massachusetts." At the right may be seen the Academy, the Conference House in its original location, the Town Hall just erected, and the Bulfinch Meeting House; in the background Land-

At the April meeting Samuel Fowler, Justin Ely, and Warham Parks were appointed "to make enquiries about, and if possible locate the half township of land granted by the General Court" the preceding year. As finally determined it was located in the present state of Maine, which was not separated from Massachusetts until 1820. The land was subsequently sold for $5,000 to John Berret, Esq., of Northfield.

At the same meeting it was voted "to choose one Agent to superintend the building for an Academy" and Samuel Fowler, Esq., was selected. Five directors were chosen to advise and direct him, General Parks, Major Whitney, Major Bush, Colonel Taylor and Samuel Mather, Esq.

At the April meeting, 1797, it was voted to raise the sum of one thousand dollars by subscription in addition to the sum voted by the Town.

In December, 1799, Colonel Taylor, Warham Parks, Esq., and Lieut. Silas Bush were appointed to settle with the agent, though final action was not recorded until several years later.

On March 10, 1800, Dr. Israel Ashley, Daniel Fowler, and Maj. Zechariah Bush were appointed to confer with the Trustees about a permanent fund. It was at a meeting held on September 14, 1803, that the full statement of the action of the committee on settlement with the agent was considered.

"On motion Voted that the Report of the Settlement made (with Samuel Fowler Esqr as Agent for the Town in building the Academy) by the Committee appointed on the part of the Town for making such Settlement be Recorded on the Town Book of Records which report is as follows:

"We the subscribers appointed by the Town of Westfield to settle with Samuel Fowler Esq. Agent to build the Academy, having attended that Service and after carefully going over each and every account which said Agent had opened with sundry persons that furnished the said Agent with Labor and materials and carefully cast up the same find them right cast and well vouched. We find the whole expense and cost of said Academy to be *Nine Hundred Twenty Nine Pounds ten shillings* and *eight pence*. The said Town of Westfield have paid towards this Grants or in discharge of them the sum of *Five Hundred* and *thirty one pounds & one shilling* and when the taxes that

have been assessed have been Collected there will remain but *Sixty nine Pounds* & *nineteen shillings* to complete the whole sum of two grants they being Six Hundred Pounds. That as soon as the Committee that have been appointed by the Town to convey to the Trustees of said Academy the two Town Lots the Town will have fully paid and discharged themselves of any Demand the said Trustees of said Academy may have against the said Town by virtue of the said Grants of Six Hundred Pounds. We would further report as our opinion that the said Agent in prosecuting said trust has performed it with faithfulness and uprightness and he is hereby discharged from any further trust in said Academy.

James Taylor }
Silas Bush } Committee."

"Westfield April 13th 1803."

"On motion Voted to Return the thanks of the Town to Samuel Fowler Esqr. for his faithful and assiduous attention as agent in the building of the Academy."

The third member of the committee, Gen. Warham Parks, one of the Trustees, died during the second year after the opening of the Academy.

The successive steps taken by the town in preparing for this important enterprise have been thus collated from its records.

We find supplemental items in the records of the Trustees. The full Board as originally constituted was composed as follows:

"Hon. Samuel Fowler, Hon. William Shepard, and Samuel Mather Esquires. David Moseley, Jonathan Judd Jr. [of Southampton] Justin Ely [of West Springfield] and Abel Whitney Esquires, the Reverend Messieures Joseph Lathrop D.D. [of West Springfield] Solomon Williams, [of Northampton] Bezaleel Howard D.D. [of Springfield], Isaac Clinton, [of Southwick] and Joseph Badger [of Blandford], Hon. Samuel Lyman [of Northampton], Col. James Taylor."

The first meeting of the Academy trustees was not held until April 20, 1797, nearly four years after the corporation had been constituted by the General Court. There were present at that time, Samuel Fowler, William Shepard, Samuel

Mather, David Moseley, Justin Ely, Abel Whitney, Rev. Joseph Lathrop, Rev. Solomon Williams, Rev. Noah Atwater, Rev. Isaac Clinton and Rev. Joseph Badger. The meeting was held at Capt. Ezra Clap's tavern, which stood on the north side of the green near the present site of the Hampden National Bank. The following officers were elected: President, the Honorable Samuel Fowler, Esq.; Vice-President, the Rev. Samuel Lathrop, D.D.; Secretary, Abel Whitney; Treasurer. Warham Parks, Esq.

At a meeting held Nov. 5, 1799, the price of tuition was fixed at $2.00 per quarter for reading, writing and English grammar, and $2.50 for other branches. The salary of the Preceptor was fixed at seventy pounds a year. A committee was appointed to procure an usher or ushers, and agree on their salary. It was also voted that the Academy should be opened Jan. 1, 1800, notice thereof to be given in papers of Hartford, Springfield, Northampton and Stockbridge.

At the annual meeting of the Academy trustees held April 19, 1798, at Capt. Sacket's tavern, it was voted "that Dr. Lathrop be requested to preach a sermon at the opening of the Academy." He had been elected vice-president at the first meeting of the trustees, the previous year, and he was retained in the office until 1809 when he declined further service.

Dr. Lathrop chose for his text, Psalm 144:12: "That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace."

After the sermon by Dr. Lathrop, Hon. Samuel Fowler, as agent for the trustees in erecting the building, and as president of their board, made an effective "Dedication Speech."

It was concluded as follows: "May this institution long flourish; may it become more and more reputable for virtue and science; and may it continue to afford an opportunity for acquiring every branch of learning which is useful to the individual and beneficial to the community."

The building, as shown by its picture, was quite a pretentious structure for those days. Dr. Davis in his brief history of Westfield, published in 1826 when he was preceptor of the Academy, says that the first floor was devoted to class rooms

and the upper story was an assembly hall, which must have proved of great value for the stated exhibitions and other public exercises of this institution.

The plan of conducting the institution is clearly set forth in the following record made on the day of dedication:

"Bye-Laws &c

"At a legal meeting of the Trustees of Westfield Academy holden at the house of Capt. Ezra Clap in Westfield, by adjournment from November 5th 1799 to January 1, 1800, Having met according to adjournment.

"The following Bye-laws were established

"*Article 1.* A Committee of three shall be annually chosen, who shall be entitled the standing Committee of the Academy, whose duty it shall be to assist the Preceptor with their advice in all cases in which it may be needed.

"*Article 2.* The Preceptor and standing Committee shall have the care and inspection of the Building.

"*Article 3.* Youths of both sexes who can read and write in a decent manner, and only such, may be admitted to the Academy.

"*Article 4.* The expences for fire wood shall be equally borne by the Scholars during the time of their continuance at the Academy.

"*Article 5.* Seventeen cents shall be quarterly paid.

"*Article 6.* The Scholars shall settle their accounts quarterly.

"*Article 7.* When damage is done to the Academy, or anything belonging to it, by any Scholar, or Scholars, it shall be estimated by the Preceptor and standing Committee, and charged to those by whom it is done.

"*Article 8.* The Scholars belonging to the Academy shall be in subjection to the authority and government of it. They shall be orderly and studious—seasonable in their attendance—peaceable among themselves—and particularly attentive to all the exercises on which they shall be directed to attend.

"*Article 9.* The Scholars shall not absent themselves from the studies and other duties of the Academy, without leave from the Preceptor or an Usher.

"*Article 10.* The Scholars on the Lord's day, as well as on other days, shall be under the inspection of their Instructors,

and shall be required to attend, as they shall have opportunity, upon the publick worship of God.

"*Article 11.* The Preceptor and Ushers shall be men of good moral character, as well as men of learning and abilities, and they shall declare to the Trustees, or to their Committee, their belief of the christian religion, and their firm persuasion of its truth.

"*Article 12.* The Preceptor and Ushers in addition to their literary instructions, shall frequently and very particularly impress upon the minds of their Pupils the importance of religion, and shall endeavour to bring them to the love and the practice of it, pointing out to them the indispensible duty which lies upon them—of living soberly, righteously and godly—of remembering their Creator in the days of their Youth, and of seeking first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness.

"*Article 13.* The punishments inflicted on offenders shall be '*private admonition*,' '*publick admonition*,' '*degredation*,' '*suspension*,' and '*expulsion*,' according to the nature of the offence. The Preceptor shall be authorized to *admonish* at his own discretion,—to *degrade* with the advice of the Ushers—to *suspend* and *expel* with the advice of the Ushers and Committee.

"*Article 14.* It shall be the duty of the Instructors to take all prudent care that their Pupils behave decently, not only in the hours of study, but at all other times—that they keep themselves from *loose* and *low* company—and that they shun *Publick Houses* and *places* of *temptation*."

The corps of instructors during the first year seems to have consisted solely of the Preceptor, Peter Starr, of Middlebury, Vt. His successor the next year, Henry C. Martindale, who afterward became a lawyer in New York and represented that State in Congress, had as his assistant an Usher, Abijah Bisco, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and for part of the year, Luke Collins, though whether the two were associated with him at the same time does not appear. In 1802 Lyman Strong was Preceptor, with Abel Whitney and Miss Parnell Fairchild assistants. During the first twenty-three years of the active life of the Academy it had seventeen different instructors, all but one of whom was a graduate of Williams College. Early among them appears the name of Miss Emma Hart, who

became Mrs. Emma Willard, founder and promoter of the famous seminary for young women in Troy, N. Y., an institution which has recently occupied the magnificent suite of buildings provided by the generosity of Mrs. Russell Sage of New York City, a former pupil.

Peter Starr received a salary of $116.66, with his board in addition probably, as in the case of his successors. In 1816 Stephen Taylor received $150. Emerson Davis received $175 annually during the thirteen years of his incumbency. From 1859 to the time of the sale of the property and the merging of the Academy into the High School, the Preceptor's salary was $425.

In 1859 Marcus P. Knowlton, lately retired from the bench as Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and who died in 1918, was an assistant instructor, and received for his services, $162.50.

In 1819, the name of Lucy Douglass appears as Preceptress. She became the wife of the Hon. James Fowler, whose former homestead is now the property of the Westfield Atheneum, a gift of the Academy Trustees. Her daughter and namesake became the worthy wife of the Hon. Edward B. Gillett, one of Westfield's most noble and illustrious citizens. Their son, the Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, has represented the Springfield district in Congress for many years with honor and ability, and in 1919 was honored by being chosen as Speaker of the House.

A later preceptress, Miss Ann Elizabeth Stebbins, became the wife of Norman T. Leonard, a prominent lawyer in town, and for many years a trustee and the treasurer of the Academy board.

Still later, Miss Rebecca P. Boise, an instructor, became the wife of Dr. Anson P. Hooker of Cambridge, and after his death returned to Westfield and for many years, until her death, lived in the old Richard Falley house standing back of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Samuel J. Fowler enjoys the unique distinction of being the fourth generation of his family to serve on the board of trustees, his Father, Samuel, his Grandfather, James, and his Great-grandfather, Samuel, its first honored president, having been each on the board for many years. His cousin, Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, differs from him in that respect, only in

that of one generation, his Father was not in lineal descent. His maternal ancestors are the same as Mr. Fowler's paternal ones.

Another item of interest is the fact that during the period of the existence of the board, nearly a century and a quarter, it has had but seven Presidents:

Hon. Samuel Fowler,	1797–1819
Rev. Isaac Knapp,	1819–1845
Rev. Emerson Davis,	1845–1866
Hon. William G. Bates,	1866–1880
Hon. E. B. Gillett,	1880–1899
Hon. M. B. Whitney,	1899–1915
James C. Greenough, LL.D.,	1915–

Officers in 1919: James C. Greenough, LL.D., President; Rev. John H. Lockwood, Vice-President; Robert C. Parker, Clerk; Chester H. Abbe, Treasurer; Harris B. Moulton, Auditor.

Trustees' Record Book. May 13, 1845. Rev. Isaac Knapp tendered his resignation. Vote of thanks for his long service and sympathy for his infirmities. Fence to be put between land of Academy and that of Matthew Ives. Prudential Committee to spend $100 to $125 to make improvements, buiid fence and lay *brick sidewalks.*

September, 1859. Voted to procure Gold's *Steam* heating apparatus.

July 10, 1860. Action respecting Rev. T. M. Cooley deceased.

May 25, 1863. Committee to confer with committee of town to devise some plan of union of Academy and High School.

June 20. 1883. Voted to remove steeple from the old meeting house, which was a part of the property conveyed to the Academy trustees by the Hon. William G. Bates.

Report of Committee M. B. Whitney, Samuel Fowler and John H. Lockwood, on practical method of employing fund to aid High School, July 29, 1887.

Whitney, Lockwood and Dunbar appointed to meet Committee of town to complete arrangements, Jan. 7, 1888.

Basin Street property, on which the old church had stood after its removal, sold to John R. Reed for benefit of First

Congregational Society, Mar. 11, 1890, and voted to ask the town to change name from Basin Street to Academy Street.

Voted Dec. 13, 1890, to urge the town to build an annex to the High School in place of old Academy building burned.

Vote to purchase Fowler property for $30,000, Nov. 29, 1892.

Vote to convey the Fowler property to Westfield Atheneum, April 11, 1898, subject to Legislative approval.

Mar. 10, 1905. Arrangement with town of Westfield renewed for ten years, and in 1915 renewed again.

Notes of Peter Starr's semi-centennial address, Aug. 14, 1844. In opening he lays stress on the changes of the personnel of the Trustees during 50 years.

He says: "An important means of promoting the respectability and usefulness of your Academy has been the general admission of the pupils as boarders in the most respectable families. As the great purpose of education is intellectual and moral improvement, the daily associations of youth out of school are scarcely less important than the direct teaching and influence of their instructors. The free intercourse of students in respectable families is an efficient means of increasing their attachment to the institution, and a just appreciation of its advantages. When the Academy was first established it was natural that a deep interest should have been felt in its prosperity, and if I am correctly informed, the inhabitants of Westfield are entitled to all praise for the liberality and interest with which they have continued to cherish the institution to the present time."

In a footnote a list is given of those then serving as missionaries who had been students at the Academy.

Mrs. Sybil Moseley Bingham of Westfield, Sandwich Islands.

Rev. Elnathan Gridley of Farmington, Conn., who in 1820 was the Preceptor of the Academy, went to Asia Minor and died at Caesarea in 1827.

Rev. Reuben Tinker of Chester, Sandwich Islands.

Mrs. Fanny B. Thomas Gulick of Lebanon, Conn., Sandwich Islands.

Dr. Alonzo Chapin of West Springfield, Sandwich Islands.

Mrs. Clarissa Chapman Armstrong of Russell, who had been assistant preceptress in 1827, Sandwich Islands.

Mrs. E. A. Field Brewer of Stockbridge, Smyrna, Asia Minor.

Miss Esther Smith of Westfield, teaching Indians in Arkansas Territory.

Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D., of West Springfield, Persia.

Mrs. Charlotte Bass Perkins of Middlebury, Vt., Persia.

Mrs. Charlotte Fowler Baldwin of Northford, Conn., Sandwich Islands.

Mrs. Hume (formerly Miss Sackett) of West Springfield, Bombay, India.

Mr. Starr lays emphasis on the fact of the plan of conducting the Academy without the employment of corporal punishment, then almost universal in schools both public and private.

In the appendix to the published address several interesting facts are noted: "The number of different students the first year was 187. Of this number about 50 are dead. Ten of the number went through college; of these one is a Doctor of Divinity, and one is a Judge. The smallest number of students during any one year was 128, the largest number 432, and the average number has been 260 per year.

In 1823 the building was extensively and thoroughly repaired. The desks in the schoolrooms were rebuilt and newly arranged in 1828, In 1841 an addition was made to the building, providing a commodious laboratory and a philosophical chamber.

July 15, 1856. "Voted that William G. Bates, Emerson Davis, David Moseley, & Jehiel Abbott be a committee to prepare plans for a new Academy building & report at an adjourned meeting."

Mar. 21. 1857. "Voted that Messrs. Davis, Bates & Abbott, together with Mr. Alden, chairman of the Board of Selectmen, & Mr. Harrison, one of the trustese under the will of Mr. Stephen Harrison, be appointed a building committee, & that they be authorized, whenever in their judgment a sum sufficiently large is subscribed, to make a contract or contracts for the erection of a new Academy building."

June 11, 1866. Messrs. Bates, Gillett and Hinsdale were

appointed a committee to prepare and report resolutions expressing their feelings in view of the demise of the president of the Board.

June 18, 1866. Hon. William G. Bates, in behalf of a committee of which he was chairman, presented the following resolutions:

"Resolved, that by the recent demise of the Rev. Dr. Davis the Westfield Academy has sustained an irreparable loss. He has been connected with it for more than an entire generation! In the year 1821 he here commenced his educational career as one of its corps of instructors. Called away for a brief period to discharge the duties of a tutor in Williams College, he returned in 1822 and became permanently connected with the institution as its Preceptor. From that time until June, 1836, he continued to act in that capacity with an administrative ability which was recognized by the friends of the Academy, and evidenced by a very large increase of the number of its pupils. Since his installation in June, 1836, as Pastor of the Congregational Church in this town, to the day of his decease, he has continued his connection with it as a member, and for the greater part of the time as the president of the board." The Resolution comcludes in terms of highest appreciation.

A notable fact established by the records proving the faithfulness of his service is that during the twenty-one years of his presidency Dr. Davis was present at thirty-five out of thirty-six meetings which the board held.

July 16, 1866. Rev. Henry Hopkins was elected a trustee and secretary.

A communication from the School Committee of Westfield was offered:

"To the Trustees of the Westfield Atheneum. Gentlemen: The School Committee of Westfield respectfully submit for your consideration, Whether the cause of education in this community would not be more efficiently promoted if the Westfield Academy and the High School of this town could be united and carried on as one school, and whether this cannot be done upon a basis that would be satisfactory to the trustees of said Academy and to the Town. These schools as now conducted occupy substantially the same ground, teaching very nearly

the same studies, and having the same class of pupils." After urging the appointment of a committee to arrange for a union, it concludes:

"In behalf of the School Committee of the Town of Westfield. Thos. Kneill, Jas. H. Waterman, Sub Committee. Westfield, July 14, 1866."

Messrs. Gillett, Abbott and Whitman were appointed.

Aug. 4, 1866, Mr. Bates presented a document which he had prepared "as an appeal for aid by the Trustees to the Alumni and friends of the Academy."

A long discussion of the conditions and prospects of the institution followed. The report of the joint committee of the Trustees and School Committee was read, and after due consideration was decided to be not feasible. Messrs. Bates and Gillett were appointed a committee to secure the views of the Trustees upon the proposed union.

April 5, 1867, it was voted to sell the property to the town.

Dec. 3, 1886. The President (E. B. Gillett), L. F. Thayer and Samuel Fowler were appointed "to confer with the school committee and the committee chosen by the town to report in regard to the Academy funds, as to a plan to enlarge and improve the educational facilities of the town by aid from the Academy."

At the following annual meeting in June, 1887, James R. Dunbar was added to the above committee.

July 29, 1887. "Voted, that the committee heretofore appointed to report on any definite plan for the active and practical operation of this institution, having presented their report in the following terms: "The Committee having visited the Rogers High School in Newport, R. I., and other schools, report that they are of opinion that the best and most efficient method of employing the income of the fund for a term of years to be fixed hereafter, is in furnishing instruction supplementary to that of the present high school in Westfield, provided suitable accommodations satisfactory to the trustees shall be furnished by the town, and such teachers selected as shall be approved by the Trustees.

M. B. Whitney, Saml. Fowler, John H. Lockwood."
"That this report be accepted."

It was farther voted to inform the town of the above action in detail, and that the trustees were ready to carry out that proposal when the bonds due from the town to the trustees, together with accrued interest, should have been paid.

Jan. 7, 1888. Committee appointed, consisting of M. B. Whitney, Rev. John H. Lockwood, and James R. Dunbar to meet the committee appointed by the town and confer with relation to plans for a connection with the High School.

The following is the basis of operation finally decided upon at a meeting "held Apr. 20, 1889, and subsequently ratified by the town.

"Voted, To pay to the Treasurer of the Town of Westfield, annually, for the period of twelve years, the annual net income of the entire funds of the Trustees of the Westfield Academy, less five hundred dollars reserved annually as a guaranty fund against losses, such fund not to exceed two thousand dollars in the aggregate at any one time, provided the amount raised and expended by said Town for the support of its High School shall not be less in any one year than the amount raised and expended by said Town therefor during the year 1887, for the purpose of furnishing instruction in said High School in branches of learning not now taught in said High School, and in improved methods of instruction in all branches taught therein: and also provided the Town shall first pay its bonds now held by the Trustees of said Academy and the interest due and to become due thereon, and shall also provide suitable buildings and apparatus for the use of said school, satisfactory to said Trustees, and to the school committee or any special committee appointed by the Town for that purpose, such payment by said Trustees to continue so long as all the teachers employed in said school, and all the branches of learning taught, and the courses and methods of instruction adopted and pursued therein during the whole of said term, shall be satisfactory to said Trustees, but not to exceed said term of twelve years. In case of disagreement, either party may appeal to the State Board of Education, whose decision therein shall be binding on both parties. Voted—that rules and regulations necessary to carry this vote fully into effect be hereafter mutually agreed on by the Trustees and the Town of Westfield."

May 4, 1889. It was voted to buy the Ives property on

Broad Street, next south of the high school lot, for $5,000. On June 19 it was voted to sell the same to the town of Westfield for the sum expended in its purchase.

After considerable negotiation it was voted, Nov. 29, 1892, to offer the heirs of James Fowler the sum of $30,000 for the property at the corner of Court and Elm Streets, together with adjacent land running through to Washington Street, 147 feet, 6 inches on Elm Street and 375 feet 6 inches on Court Street with the brick residence of the late James Fowler.

Oct. 2, 1895. New By-laws adopted.

Apr. 11, 1898. Voted to convey without consideration the property on the corner of Court and Elm Streets to the Westfield Atheneum.

March 28, 1905. The contract with town for support of improved work in the high school was renewed for ten years.

In 1916 the contract was renewed in a slightly modified form, with the proviso that the trustees might at any time visit the High School and might terminate the agreement by giving written notice of such purpose to the town treasurer thirty days previous to the close of a fiscal year.

The amounts paid to the town for this purpose as reported at the annual meeting in 1919, have aggregated $161,680.33.

The catalog published in 1814 on a single sheet shows that the pupils were by no means confined to Westfield; indeed, out of a total enrollment of 116, masters 45 and misses 71, only 16 of the former and 34 of the latter had their residence there. Of the masters 12 were from Connecticut and 2 were from Vermont; Of the misses 14 were from Connecticut, 3 were from Vermont, and 2 were from New York.

The officers in that year were Hon. Samuel Fowler president; Rev. Solomon Williams, vice-president; John Ingersoll, Esq., treasurer; Elijah Bates, Esq., secretary.

Only five of the original board of fifteen trustees were then serving in that capacity, Hon. Samuel Fowler, Rev. Solomon Williams, Justin Ely, Esq., Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D.D. and Jonathan Judd, Jr., Esq.

At the laying of the cornerstone of the new building on July 31, 1859, a brick structure which still forms part of the present High School building. Rev. Emerson Davis, D.D., president of the board of trustees, introduced the services by

a brief address and a prayer. A hymn, composed by Mrs. Ellen Barr, was then sung. The main address was delivered by the Hon. William G. Bates, after which the cornerstone was laid and the exercises were concluded by the singing of a hymn composed by Mrs. Louise G. R. Chapman.

The appropriations of the town for schools for 1919 were about $130,000. The advance from 1800 to 1857 was one thousand per cent, and from 1857 to the present, three thousand per cent. Very creditable to modern Westfield!

Westfield Academy never possessed a more loyal and devoted friend than Mr. Bates. Just before death halted his active service in its behalf he announced the gift of real estate which he valued approximately at ten thousand dollars.

Notices at ends of Catalogues.

1815. Among the students were William G. Bates, Augustus E. and Charles A. Jessup, masters 41, misses 78.

1824. "Board in private families varying from one dollar and thirty-four cents to one dollar and sixty-seven cents per week, including washing, room rent, &c." "Annual exhibition will be on the last Wednesday of August."

"Tuition $3.00 per quarter. During the Fall, Winter and Spring quarters, the additional sum of twenty-five cents is charged for wood."

The name of Roland Mather appears, who became one of the founders of the Atheneum.

The name of Irene E. Thayer appears for the first time in the catalogue of 1834. She was the eldest sister of Lucius F. Thayer, who became one of the most useful and influential citizens of his generation. She married in 1840, Mr. A. T. Hale, a merchant of Hartford, Conn. In 1860 they moved to Minneapolis, Minn., where she spent the remainder of her life. Her death occurred in 1912, when she had reached the age of fourscore and ten years.

1838. Ariel Parish, A.B., appears as Principal to 1845. He was afterward for many years Principal of the Springfield high school, and about 1865 went to Denver, Col., as Superintendent of schools.

"By vote of the trustees, there will hereafter be an extra charge of $2.00 per term for lessons in painting and drawing. An extra charge is also made for lessons on the pianoforte.

A lecture and recitation will be given weekly by the Rev. Mr. Davis to those who wish to qualify themselves for school-teaching."

An earlier statement was made that "Rev. E. Davis, formerly Principal, now settled minister in this place, occasionally instructs classes in different departments, and renders much valuable assistance."

Under the caption of Moral Instruction, the following declaration is made: "This is considered indispensable in a system of education, and holds, therefore, a prominent place. The Bible is made a text-book of study weekly. Every member of the institution is required regularly to attend public worship on the Sabbath.

The whole number enrolled in 1838 was 262. Among the pupils were Henry B. Smith and Reuben Noble, who became prominent and influential citizens. The former was for many years a deacon of the First Congregational Church and established one of the town's leading industries, which bears his name, the company known throughout the country for the manufacture of steam radiators. Mr. Noble, long known as a public-spirited citizen, ready to support any enterprise which promised to benefit the town, crowned his benefactions by devising a generous fund for the establishment of the Noble Hospital.

1846. "Few institutions have been so *uniformly* prosperous as this during a period of nearly *half a century.* More than 8000 pupils have been connected with it during its existence, and the average number each year has been about 250."

As far as available catalogues reveal the condition of attendance, the year 1833 marked the climax of the Academy's prosperity. That was near the close of the administration of Emerson Davis. The list of Instructors comprised Emerson Davis, A.M., principal; Josiah Ballard, A.B., teacher of Latin and Greek; Job Clark, A.M.; Charles S. Brakenridge, Perkins Clark, Miss Almira Hutchings, Miss Julia Mack and Miss Stella Tuller, assistants; Miss Mary E. Post, Miss Helen E. Blair, Miss Eliza H. Knapp and Miss S. J. Hastings, assistant pupils.

An analysis of the list of attendant students shows how wide was the range of territory from which they were drawn.

Of the whole number of young men, 186, there were from Westfield 48; from Massachusetts outside of Westfield, 71; from Connecticut, 49; from New York, 7; there was one representative respectively from Vermont, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Georgia. Of the whole number of young women, 255, there were from Westfield 69; from Massachusetts outside of Westfield, 82; from Connecticut, 88; there were 5 from New York and 2 from New Hampshire. The tuition that year was from $4.25 to $6.00 per term; board in good families, including washing, fuel, etc., was from $1.75 to $2.25 per week. Total expenses for the year, $86.25 to $112.50; Music extra, 24 lessons, including use of piano, $10.00. The aggregate amount of the Academy fund, as reported at the annual meeting of the board of trustees in 1919, was the munificent sum of $142,879.66 market value, with a par value of $152,627.16 and a cost price of $148,627.89. The report in full, as made by the efficient treasurer, Chester H. Abbe, is a marvel of amplitude and completeness of detail and absolute accuracy in every respect.

The high school being the lineal descendant and financial legatee of Westfield Academy, it is proper to conclude this sketch with a brief outline of its history. For a short period the two schools were conducted simultaneously, for another period they were co-ordinated, and for many years past the high school has enjoyed the benefit of a generous addition to the respective salaries of its teachers from the annual income of the Academy fund.

The new Academy building was dedicated on Aug. 25, 1858, when the address was delivered by Professor John Tatlock of Williams College, "Old Tat" as successive generations of students affectionately called him. A large number of former pupils of the Academy assembled for the momentous occasion. For $10,000 raised by subscription the original wooden building was moved back and a pretentious brick building connected with it in front was erected.

Although there are traditions of a school in the town hall somewhat earlier than that date, it was not until 1855 that it was formally established. For a detailed account of its early experiences the thanks of the author are rendered to William H. Foote, whose paper at the dedication of the present

building on Sept. 18, 1890, is drawn upon for important items.

"The Westfield High School is now 35 years of age, it having been established in 1855." In 1854 the late Rev. Dr. Davis, who was at that time chairman of the school committee, wrote as follows, "We recommend three specific topics to be acted upon by the town," the first of which was, "To set up a high school and raise money for its support." Upon this recommendation the town at its annual meeting in 1855 appropriated $1,000, to be expended during the year in fitting up a room under the town hall for the accommodation of a high school and for supporting it during the remainder of the year. The room was not in readiness to receive the school until September. Mr. William A. Smith was appointed principal and Miss M. A. Thurston, assistant. To the former was paid $350 and to the latter $150. The expense of fitting up and furnishing the room was $440.11 and of the school $560. During the first term there were 74 pupils and during the second 82.

The first schoolroom was in the town building and occupied what is now the selectmen's office and police court room (the southerly half of the building). In 1856–7 Mr. H E. Daniels was principal, and Miss Harriet N. Fletcher, later Mrs. L. R. Norton, assistant, both of whom were reported by the committee as having done *exceedingly well.* At this time there were 85 pupils, and the school was kept three terms of 14 weeks each.

In 1865 it became apparent, that other and better quarters must be furnished for the school, and negotiations were entered upon which finally resulted in the purchase of the building and grounds of the old Westfield Academy for the sum of $35,000, and the school was moved thither in 1867.

After the Academy trustees had agreed to turn the income of their fund over to the high school, the sum of $75,000 was spent in enlarging and improving the building.

At the time of the opening of the new building in September, 1890, Herbert W. Kittredge began his services as principal, with Dennis M. Cole as teacher of science, positions retained

to the present time (1919). The career of Mr. Kittredge as head master and teacher of Greek for so many years, marked by rare ability and efficiency, has insured him high rank in his profession in this country. Miss Sara M. Kneil impressed our noble personality upon the school for periods aggregating almost a quarter of a century.

From 1898 to 1916 George W. Miner was the head of the business department of the school.

For sixteen years, ending in 1911, Miss Lucy Jane Dow, teacher of Latin (since then Mrs. George H. Cushing), endeared herself to successive classes.

Miss Elizabeth F. Atwood has been teacher of stenography and typewriting since 1895.

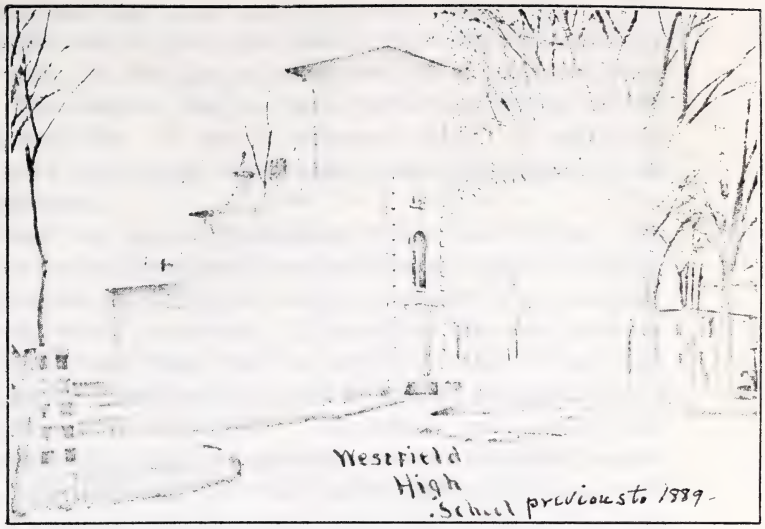
The reminiscences of the early days of the high school, preserved and published by Miss Kneil in the catalogue of 1886–7, are too valuable to be omitted.

"Some Things That I Remembered About The Old High School.

"If to my memories of the old high school I add those of my brothers and sisters older and younger than I, they cover nearly the time of its existence. Of all its teachers there are only two of whom I have not some definite recollection, although the earliest were known to me only as their images and personalities were graven on my mind by the reports of school doings which these eager, alert brothers and sisters brought home every day.

"During the first years of the high school, fortune seemed unfriendly to it, for in five years it had five principals and four different assistant teachers. It was located in the town hall building, 'sandwiched' as one of the clamorers for better accommodations for it said, 'between the town hall and the Lockup.' There it remained for twelve years.

"Entrance over the broad piazza and through the big front doors was denied us as pupils. The boys found their way in along a path on the north side of the building and nearest to the lockup. Through a dingy little entry—the scene of many remarkable exploits—they were admitted to the schoolroom's classic shades. The girls entered on the south side, and grew to be on friendly terms with the lockup keeper and his wife. Through a dingy little entrance, just



THE HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING.

Before the old Academy annex was burned, November 12, 1890.

THE HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING.

Occupied and dedicated, September, 1893.

like the other, they joined the boys in the classic shades. The schoolroom was of good size, with a floor sloping irregularly to the east, and with just as many desks as it could accommodate. The teachers' desk was on a platform across the middle of the east side. It was a venerated thing. A recitation-room, with long, black settees along three sides, opened from the main room.

"Those were days of limitations, within and without. No schoolhouse, no playground, no apparatus, no course of study, no graduation days with fine essays and white robes, no diplomas with stately ceremonies. Those of us who were born too soon for all these things feel like saying to the present high school pupils: 'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the pit whence ye are digged.' The school was overcrowded with youths thirsting for knowledge, and to distribute its privileges impartially the rule was finally adopted that no pupil could stay in the school longer than eight terms. Fourteen was the regulation age for entering, unless special grace granted admission at an earlier age. Each new pupil joined the striding procession, and was passed out at seventeen, possessed of all that could be got during his brief stay within the walls of the schoolroom. He chose from the list of studies which the school afforded such as best suited him, or the teacher chose for him such as best suited the teacher. The school was a mixture of a grammar and a high school. Latin and French were taught in it, and some of the natural sciences. There was an entrance examination—at least I underwent one. It was conducted by two members of the school committee, who were late in reaching the spot and were evidently in a great hurry. None of the appliances for an examination seemed to be at hand, nothing except the large Bible at the desk. So each trembling aspirant for high school privileges read two verses from the first chapter of Genesis, spelled a word, did a sum or two in fractions, and was admitted.

"How vividly remembered are the days of Mr. Bingham's administration! Mr. Bingham was a man of strong affection, decided eccentricities, remarkable mental gifts of certain sorts, and most original methods of teaching and of discipline. He probably made a more forcible and permanent impression upon the pupils than any other of those early teachers made.

Some of our business men and some of our teachers recall with gratitude his rigid training in arithmetic. His sharp, "How much? What part? What per cent?" have helped them out of much trouble in reckoning gains and losses, actual and suppositional.

"How tremendous they were,—especially to the stupid, near-sighted boys and girls,—those examples in fractions which were his Wednesday afternoon recreation! Just *one* of them traveled all round the schoolroom board, and caused the timorous mortal to quail before it. It must be done "in our heads," and we must convey the answer in a whisper to his waiting ear, as he sat solemnly before us, moving the top of his head in that peculiar and terrifying way which he had. As soon as one received the assenting nod to the petty sum gently whispered, that one could go home. But the schoolroom never thinned very fast! Ciphering was Mr. Bingham's hobby. Nothing appeared to have much value to him unless it could be ciphered. His instruction in natural philosophy, in astronomy, in everything except English grammar, tended toward calculating; and happy he and she who could compute the velocity of falling bodies and reckon the length of shadows. They were a satisfaction to themselves, and they found favor in the eyes of their teacher.

"And the spelling class! A long, long row of helpless individuals, summoned at the close of the day, and extended along the sides of the schoolroom, every pupil in his allotted place, with ears and tongue alert to spell. Those were exciting tests of speed and accuracy, the like of which we had never seen.

"The school had few if any reference books beyond a venerable dictionary. I remember that once we each carried a cent a week until we had paid for two large volumes on natural history, which Mr. Bingham wished us to own. He himself took up the collection in his hat every Friday night, and one lad who had the termerity one night to hand him a dollar bill received in change ninety-nine pennies.

"His modes of punishment and discipline were peculiar and always interesting, especially to the spectator. He was a succession of surprises. Nobody could safely prophesy what he would do. One morning, when an unusually large number were tardy, he read edifyingly from the Scriptures

about the five foolish virgins who knocked in vain on the shut door.

"He taught us good manners and morals, cleanliness, filial duty, and respect for our superiors, all by methods vigorous and effective. On the whole, he did great service in that day to that generation whom he taught. Mr. Bingham died a few years ago in Brattleboro, Vt.

"His assistant teachers were women of worth and influence, and bore an honorable part in the conduct of the school. Miss Harriet E. Davis, daughter of the Rev. Emerson Davis, and now Mrs. T. B. Stockwell of Providence, R. I., was for some time a teacher in the school. Others were Miss Fanny Abbott, Miss Hope Martyn, and Mr. Edwin L. Peck, who came in to teach Latin.

"It remained for Mr. Gibbs to lift the school out of itself up to the plane it occupies. He found willing co-workers in the school committee, and their joint endeavors provided larger and more commodious accommodations for the high school which was to be evolved. The Academy building was bought by the town for the use of its high school. Additional teachers were employed, departments were established, courses of study were arranged, the lyceum was organized, apparatus, books and a piano were bought with the receipts of fairs and festivals in which Mr. Gibbs interested the citizens. The school began to fit boys for college. It assumed form and comeliness.

"Mr. Gibbs did very much for the school and for its pupils, and the town owes to him a debt of gratitude. He was a lover of youth and 'apt to teach.' He was friendly in spirit and wise in counsel. The young people whom he instructed, especially those in the earlier classes which were graduated under him, regard him with much affection and reverence.

"His enduring and fitting memorial is where he would have it be—in our high school as it exists, and as it shall exist for future generations."

Items furnished the author by several persons, which indicate that the high school began to function at an earlier date than that given by Mr. Foote, are recorded in a subsequent chapter on "Westfield's Newspapers."

CHAPTER II

The Fifth Pastor and Third Meeting House.

The affairs of the church, as a prominent and essential feature of the life of the town, had been fostered for a century and a quarter when the nineteenth century dawned. The early primitiveness of methods and customs had not passed completely out of observance, though a transition period was well under way. The second meeting house, built "barn fation with a bell coney upon the middle of it fifty two foots in length and forty one foots in breadth," which had sheltered the congregations for eighty years on the corner of Main and Meadow Streets, had been long inadequate to the needs of the growing population of the town.

The first official action in reference to a new building was taken April 6, 1801, as shown by the records:

"On motion to choose a Committee to fix on a place for building a New Meetinghouse. Voted in the negative.

"On motion to reconsider the Vote passed not to choose a Committee for fixing a plan for a New Meetinghouse passed in the affirmative.

"Voted to Choose a Committee Consisting of one person from Each School District for the purpose of fixing on some Suitable plan for building a New Meeting House. Messrs. Samuel Fowler Esqr. James Taylor Esqr. Capt. William Moseley, John Dewey, Lt. Benj. Dewey, William Shepard Esqr. Capt. Ralph Stoddard, Lt. Silas Bush, Ensn. John Bancroft, William Hiscock, Joshua Loomis, Josiah Dewey, Abijah Owen, Ambrose Day, Lt. Roswell Clark, Thomas Killiam, Capt. Moses Dewey were chosen."

The controversy which marked this initial action was continued in one form or another through many subsequent meetings. That some relief from existing conditions was imperative could not be questioned. The inadequacy of the old building is evidenced by the fact that, while it contained thirty-three pews on the ground floor, most of which were six feet square, capable of seating 15 persons each, or an aggre-

gate of 495, the latest official seating provided for 650 adults, many of whom were heads of families. The report of the seating committee of that year, the original of which is preserved in the Atheneum, concludes as follows:

"Your Committee would farther observe, that they find it impossible to accommodate the inhabitants with seats in the Pews of the House should they all attend meeting they would therefore recommend that precedence or priority cannot, nor ought not to take place, by reason of any one being named or read off as first in any Pew, but that all have equal right to a seat in the Pews to which they are assign'd indiscriminately, & that a Spirit of accommodation only can alleviate the embarrassment & be a substitute for our present cram'd situation & condition. William Shepard, per order."

The equipment of the church for sacramental occasions consisted at that time of a single utensil. Its record shows that "about 1785 Mr. Joshua Green of Boston made a present to the church of a Bason to be used at Baptism and the church voted their thanks to him for his kindness."

At the meeting held April 29, 1789, when Gen. William Shepard was elected deacon, it was voted "that Deacon Joseph Dewey, Gen. William Shepard, John Ingersol Esq. and Deacon Paul Whitney to be a committee to take the care of furnishing the communion Table with more decent utensils, and to answer this purpose they were requested to make search for neglected Legacies."

They do not seem to have met with any success in their search, though the suggestion may have been the occasion of securing a legacy some years later; for Mr. Atwater, who died Jan. 26, 1802, left one of $20 to the church to furnish the table, and the church voted to raise an equal sum by subscription for that purpose. However, before the plan had been executed, the Hon. Samuel Fowler, with characteristic thoughtfulness and generosity, provided for the need, as shown by the following communication:

"Westfield Dec. 28, 1803.

"To the Church of Christ in Westfield—

"I have long since thought there was great need of a more fit and suitable set of vessels for the communion table in this place and having learnt that the communicants were about

providing a set either in whole or part, it was my wish to contribute my share to effect so desirable an object. I therefore with pleasure herewith present to the church in this town two silver plated Flagons (the first cost in London being forty five dollars) which I hope will be acceptable to the church.

"I am respectfully your most Obedient & Humble Servant
Samuel Fowler."

That the gift was appreciated is thus indicated: "At a church meeting Dec. 28 AD 1803

"Voted unanimously to return the thanks of this church to the Hon. Samuel Fowler for his liberal donation in presenting the church with two silver plated Flagons and that the Revd. Isaac Knapp be a committee for the business aforesaid.

"Voted further at the same meeting that Deacon William Shepard Deacon Joseph Root & Mr. Jacob Morse be a committee to confer with the Hon. Samuel Fowler and with his permission cause the initial letters of his and his wives name to be engraved on the aforesaid flagons as a testimony of their gratitude to the donor.

"Voted that Deacon William Shepard Deacon Joseph Root & Jacob Morse be a standing committee to converse with such persons as may from time to time be propounded to become members of this church."

The two flagons thus presented, together with two more of similar but not identical pattern which were provided by will in 1824 by the same munificent donor, were used by the church till early in the following century, when a descendant of the Rev. Edward Taylor presented the church with an individual communion set.

One of the 1803 flagons was presented by the church to Mrs. Edward B. Gillett, a granddaughter of Mr. Samuel Fowler, and one of the 1824 flagons was in like manner presented to Miss Frances Fowler of Cambridge, his great-granddaughter. The other two, one of each date respectively, together with old cups and a baptismal basin, are carefully preserved in a glass case in the parish house of the church, precious memorials of sacred experiences in the life of many generations of the historic brotherhood.

A baptismal basin presented also to the church by the will

of Mr. Fowler was sent by the church to Plymouth Congregational church, Minneapolis, Minn., not long after its organization. The gift of a marble baptismal font by an unnamed friend had taken the place of that utensil in the administration of the sacrament.

A month after the appointment of the committee of fifteen to consider a plan for erecting a new meeting house, the town voted not to proceed in the undertaking and not to accept the report of the committee. No further action was taken for two years, though much private discussion was held, many of the people urging the advisability of repairing and enlarging the old building.

Meanwhile the fourth pastor, after having rendered a devoted and fruitful service of twenty years, had been gathered to his fathers. At the March meeting, 1802, a few weeks after Mr. Atwater's death, a committee was chosen "to provide a candidate to supply the Pulpit," consisting of Samuel Fowler, Esq., Dea. Joseph Root, Abel Whitney, Esq., James Taylor, Esq., and William Shepard, Esq.

May 5, 1803, it was "voted to meet at the Academy on the Lord's day untill another plan shall be provided excepting the third Sabbath of Mr. Knapp's preaching here when the Town agree to meet at the Baptist meeting house." At the same meeting it was voted "that the Intermission on the Sabbath be shortened half an hour from the usual time."

The Rev. Isaac Knapp, thus referred to for the first time in the Westfield records, was born in Norfolk, Conn., in 1774, was graduated from Williams College in 1800, and afterward served there as tutor for a year. He studied theology with Rev. Dr. Backus of Somers, Conn., and read to the congregation there the last sermon which the pastor wrote but was too feeble to deliver, on the theme "The Fear of God."

Mr. Knapp was 29 years old when he began his long pastorate in Westfield, the same age as that at which Mr. Taylor began his, the first of the line of six pastors who were ordained and completed their life tasks there. Mr. Bull and Mr. Ballantine each began his ministry at the age of 25, while Mr. Atwater was 30 years old when ordained. It will thus be seen that none of that goodly line undertook his task in callow youth. A unanimous call was given to Mr. Knapp

at a town meeting held June 1, 1803, "to settle with us in the work of the Gospel Ministry," the last minister to be called by the citizens as such.

The church records afford information relative to details of the ordination and settlement of Mr. Knapp in executing the joint action of the town and church according to a custom which, originating with the establishment of the New England colonies, was to be changed ere the next incumbent of the Westfield pulpit should be settled.

"June 1st 1803. At a Meeting of the Church of Christ in Westfield it was unanimously voted to invite Mr. Isaac Knapp to take the pastoral charge of this Church & Congregation. Voted that Doctr Israel Ashley, Mr Samuel Kellogg John Ballantine Abel Whitney Noadiah Root be a Committee to wait on Mr. Knapp & report to him this wish of the Church."

"At a meeting of the Church of Christ in Westfield on Wednesday the 26th of Octr. 1802. The Hon. William Shepard Esq. was chosen Moderator.

"Votd To raise a Committee of five to act on behalf of the Church in everything connected with the Ordination of Mr. Isaac Knapp.

"Chose William Shepard Esq., Dr Israel Ashley, Mr Samuel Kellogg, Dn Joseph Root, and Abel Whitney Esq., Committee;

"Attest John Ballantine.

"The ordaining Council consisted of

The Revd Mr Robbins of Norfolk Connecticut,	Delegate Mr Knapp;
Dr. Joseph Lathrop, W. Springfield,	Col. Pelitiah Bliss;
Mr. Solomon Williams, Northampton,	Dn Clark;
Mr. Gould, Southampton,	Mr Burt;
Mr Seth Noble, Montgomery	Dn Hutchins;
Mr Cooley, Granville,	Dn Timo More;
Mr Clinton, Southwick,	Dn Hough;
Mr Waldo, W. Suffield,	Lt Rising;
Mr Ebenr Gay, Suffield,	Mr Gad Taylor;
Mr Williston, East Hampton,	Dn Parsons.

"Novr 15th The Counci Met:

"16th And Ordained Revd Isaac Knapp as Pastor of the Church & Congregation in Westfield."

The task of securing and settling a minister in the place left vacant by the death of Mr. Atwater required less than two years for its accomplishment. The coincident task of securing a new meeting house was far more complex, difficult and extended.

Two years having passed during which there was no reference in town meetings to the matter of a new building the people were forced to action by an unforeseen calamity, having been suddenly deprived by fire of shelter for the congregation. May 5, 1805, a meeting was held at Amos Witter's and was subsequently adjourned from his house to his barn "for accommodation," indicating that there was widespread interest in the proceedings.

The action taken Oct. 5, 1803, is exceedingly interesting, since it reveals the important fact that the third meeting house of the town had for its architect the most eminent man in the profession at that period, a man of national reputation, still existing specimens and proofs of whose artistic genius are yet held in the highest estimation.

"Voted that the dimensions of the meeting house when built be the same of that procured from Mr. Bulfinch of Boston, which plan is as follows, to wit, in Length Sixty six feet, width fifty four feet."

To have had this eminent architect as the designer of its meeting house is certainly creditable to the town, though the significant fact has been wholly lost from the popular tradition. It was one of ten church buildings which he designed for different towns of the Commonwealth, five of wood, four of brick, and one of stone, and one of the three west of the region contiguous to Boston.

Charles Bulfinch was born in Boston, Aug. 8, 1763, and was graduated from Harvard in 1781. He spent several years traveling in Europe for the study of architecture, and upon his return in 1786 he began the practice of his profession. The second church building of Pittsfield was erected in 1790 from his plans. It stood for over 60 years near where the First Church now stands, then was moved north to be used by the Maplewood Young Ladies' Institute, after the tower had been removed. In 1793 Mr. Bulfinch erected the first theater in Boston, and later was the architect of the State

House, the Suffolk County Court House, the University Hall at Cambridge, the Massachusetts General Hospital, the remodeled Faneuil Hall, and the State Capitol in Augusta, Maine. From 1817 to its completion in 1830 he was architect of the Capitol at Washington. A beautiful brick church designed by him, still standing at Lancaster, Mass., is an object of widespread admiration.

Later in October a committee of five, consisting of Maj. Thomas James Douglas, Maj. Amos Witter, Capt. Silas King, Abel Whitney, Esq., and Lieut. Warham Shepard, was chosen to distribute and post up in some public houses in different parts of the town six copies of the plan formally adopted, several weeks before the sale of the pews. Dec. 7, 1803, a vote was passed accepting "the place on Mr. Jacob Morse's land on the East side of the Green for the Meetinghouse upon the terms Mr. Morse offers it which is Two Hundred Dollars" and a committee of five was appointed to make sale of the pews.

Later in the month the report of the committee on the sale of seventy-five pews at specified prices was accepted, and it was then voted "that the Town in Consideration of their receiving the fourteen pews reported by the Committee to be unsold and the whole of the Gallery to be at their future disposal will forever make all necessary repairs to the Meeting house proposed to be built and will also make up the deficiency of the sum of money that the sum raised upon the sale of pews shall fall short of the Expence of Compleating the building the said Meetinghouse."

"Voted that the pew next the Pulpit stairs remain forever for the use of the Minister of the Town."

On Jan. 17, 1804, a committee of five, William Shepard, Esq., Chairman, was chosen to negotiate with Mr. Joel Farnum for a piece of his ground adjoining the Academy yard, and $35 was voted "for the use of Singing the present Season." The exhausting and probably acrimonious dispute which had dragged its exasperating length along for three years was finally settled, as indicated by action taken Jan. 25, 1804:

"The Committee appointed at the last meeting to negotiate with Mr. Joel Farnum for a piece of ground for a Meeting

house make the following report, viz—Mr. Morse hath executed to the Town a deed Sixty feet square on the Southwest corner of his homelot where the South house stands. Mr. Fowler has agreed to purchase of Joel Farnum his Two & half Acres of land with the Barn at Seven Hundred & Nine Dollars Computing the Barn at Forty Pounds, there are a number who have associated to purchase the North House of Mr. Farnum at Two Hundred Dollars & to share the loss (if any) equally, and Mr. Fowler has offered to Let any Number of Persons have two or three rods front and run back Eight Rods for as much as the Lot stands him in taking into consideration the front & situation—that if the Town shall vote Two Hundred & thirty six Dollars in the whole it will be the whole expence the Town will be at to place it in that situation—this being the best Arrangement that was in the power of the Committee to make—

"Voted to accept of the above report of the Committee.

"Voted to raise the sum of Two hundred & thirty six Dollars for the purpose of the above piece of ground of Mr. Morse & other Accommodations for the Meeting-house."

Having adjourned to the afternoon, it was then voted to build upon the sale of the pews.

At the regular March meeting that year, 1804, the rate of pay for work upon the highway was fixed at four shillings and sixpence per day for a man, nine hours being considered a day's work, previous to the first day of July, and nine shillings for a man and team. Throughout the remainder of the year it was to be three shillings and sixpence for a man and seven shillings for a man and team.

The spirit of rigid economy of the time and the region is indicated by the vote directing "that the Selectmen make sale of the old nails & old iron of the old meeting house & apply the avails thereof for the benefit of the Town." The underpinning and other stones of the old house were also to be used in the new one. At the meeting held May 2, Samuel Fowler, Esq., Major Thomas J. Douglas, William Shepard, Esq., John Ingersoll, Esq. and Mr. Elijah Bates were appointed to procure and superintend the laying of the underpinning and foundation of the meeting house. They were also com-

missioned to make prices upon and sale of eighteen pews reported as yet unsold.

May 6, 1805, it was voted to procure stepstones for the meeting house, and a committee was chosen to ascertain the best terms upon which a bell and a clock could be procured.

Aug. 4 it was voted that two flights in steps in a circular form should be built to the pulpit.

The long and perplexing struggle was finally at an end, and it was decided to dedicate the new meeting house on "Wednesday the first day of January, 1806, at one of the clock in the afternoon," five years after the first action preliminary thereto had been taken, and six years after the important event of the dedication of the Academy.

It must have brought immense satisfaction to the people to get settled again in a building prepared for public worship and to contemplate the beauty and convenience of a structure designed by such a competent and artistic architect as had been secured for the purpose. For nearly a half century that building was the cherished place of worship of the congregation, and for many years the only building in the town devoted to that purpose except a small one just below the Little River bridge, erected in the latter part of the preceding century by the Baptists. The place is designated on the first official town map prepared in 1794, the original of which is preserved in the Archive Room of the State House in Boston, and a verified copy of which is published herewith.

The first indication of the employment of improved methods of road construction is given March 10, 1806, when the sum of $20 was voted "to procure Scrapers for the Town's use in repairing Highways." At the same meeting an oft-repeated vote was taken to provide against the inroads of what for many years had been considered by the farmers an unmitigated pest; a bounty of ten cents having been provided for "each Crow's head that shall be handed to the Selectmen between the present time & the fifteenth day of June next."

The record of the several pewowners which was ordered to be made long before does not appear on the book until Dec. 7, 1807. The respective number of the pew and the price paid are included. Here is the interesting list.

	No.	Price
Elijah Bates & Benjamin Hastings	1	$176
Ezra Sacket, Amos Bush & John Sacket 2d heirs	2	202
William Moseley & Jeremiah Moseley	3	209
Samuel Fowler Esq.	4	214
Benjamin Hastings	5	179
	6	122
John Mather	7	121
Chauncey Atkins & John Crooks	8	101
Gad Root	9	88
Silas Root & Amos Dewey	10	74
Jacob Noble	11	68
John Baldwin	12	67
Luther Atkins	13	61
Walter Root	14	54
Benjamin Hastings	15	41
Benjamin Hastings	16	
Town property	17	
Thomas Jo Douglas	18	
Elijah Bates	19	
John Ingersoll	20	
Israel Ashley	21	
Eliab Dewey	22	
Moses Phelps 2d	23	40
Simeon Stiles Jr. Simeon Smith & Ephraim Stiles	24	43
Aaron Sacket &	25	47
Nathan Yeomans	26	40

	No.	Price
John Stiles &	27	$51
Oliver Dewey &	28	53
Noadiah Root & John Wellers Heirs	29	51
John Topliff &	30	53
Samuel Root Abner Sacket & Isaac Porter	31	60
Ebenr Fowler Jun. & Justus Fowler	32	55
For Pulpit Stairs	33	56
Frederick Fowler Linus Fowler & Azariah Moseley	34	106
Elijah Bates	35	90
Town Property	36	69
Samuel Taylor Israel Stocking & Moses Sacket	37	60
Lyman Lewis & Thomas Mather	38	61
Roland Taylor & James Sacket	39	60
Joel Farnum & Solomon Phelps	40	64
Warham Shepard	41	53
Samuel Douglas	42	54
Ambrose Day	43	50
Samuel Eldridge	44	50
	45	53
Elijah Bates	46	41
Abel Whitney	47	45
Isaac Wells	48	58
Ashbel Eager & Elijah	49	56
Lyman Lewis & Thomas Mather	50	55

	No.	Price
Gad Sacket	51	$60
Hezekiah Clarks heirs	52	65
	53	65
John Sacket & William Phelps	54	65
John Ballantine William & Jeremiah Moseley	55	58
Bohan King & Wd Mary Phelps	56	108
Thomas Jo Douglas Gad Palmer & Joshua Sumner	57	107
Pulpit Stairs	58	
Abijah Owen Eber Eggleston & Joseph Carrier	59	62
Enoch Holcomb Junr	60	56
Shubael Hanford & the heirs of Saml Bosworth	61	52
Spearry Douglas & Caleb Bosworth	62	49
Horace Noble Paul Noble & Wd Abigail Clark	63	52.50
Jared Noble Wm Noble & Jared Shepard	64	46
Chauncey Atkins	65	45
Charles Lee Zenas Atkins Asa Moore & Enoch Root	66	44
Stephen Ashley	67	39
John Crooks	68	39
Stephen Douglas, Roswell Dewey & Jacob Cooper	69	
Stephen Pratt	70	

	No.	Price
Lewis & Mather	71	
Isaac Weller & Edwin Moseley	72	
Lewis & Mather	73	
Town Property	74	
William Moseley	75	
Abel Avery, Joshua Whipple Junr & Eli Grainger	76	$46
Erastus Grant & Charles King	77	52
Henry Noble, John Noble	78	56
Lewis & Mather	79	64
Elijah Bates & Ashbel Eager	70	64
Shubael Holcomb & Alexander McNiel	81	71
John Ingersoll	82	90
Amos Fowler & Isaac Fowler	83	90
Jacob Morse & Pliny Moseley	84	104
Benjn Dewey & Oliver Weller	85	141
Jedediah Taylor & Blackleach Fowler	86	161
John Bancroft	87	200
William Shepard, Russell Dewey, Gad Horton	88	171
Israel Ashley	89	158
Silas Bush Jabez Baldwin & Noah Phelps	90	169

The new method of selling the pews, to be held by the purchasers in perpetuity, removed some old bones of contention from the prominent place in public consideration

which they had held through many generations of church life, and it settled some of the knottiest questions which had annually bred animosities among the people covetous of social distinction.

Whittier says, of the custom of "seating the meeting house":

"In the goodly house of worship, where in order due and fit,
As by public vote directed, classed and ranked the people sit;
Mistress first and goodwife after, clerkly squire before the clown,
From the brave coat, lace embroidered, to the gray frock shading down."

Each successive year the decision of the chosen committee bred heartburnings, jealousies and animosities which rankled until new ones were engendered when a new assignment of places was announced to the comfort of some souls and the bitterness of others.

The decisions of the committees were always inexorable, to be defied only by the most reckless spirits and at the peril of stern penalties. The church at Watertown, Conn., enacted the following decree as a warning to such as should be tempted to trespass in this matter: "It is ordered that the next Sabbath Day every person shall take his or her seat appointed to them, and not go to any other seat where others are placed: and if any one of the inhabitants shall act contrary, he shall be for the first offence reproved by the deacons, and for a second pay a fine of two shillings, and a like fine for each offence forever after." Elsewhere far heavier fines were stipulated, and in some instances inflicted.

The sale of pews obviated the necessity which had prompted the fathers "to dignify the meeting," whereby an effort was made to give to certain seats in different parts of the building an equality of social importance. Thus the records of one church declare that the seating committee used their best "discresing" and decided that "the third seat below be equal in dignity with the foreseat in the front gallery, and the fourth seat below be equal in dignity with the foreseat in the side gallery," etc., thus placing their respective occupants on an

equal footing. In East Hartford and Windsor this ridiculous custom was not abandoned until 1824. It is worthy of note that the church in Pittsfield escaped all the distresses incident to this commonly prevailing custom by adopting a more sane and prudent plan relative to its first meeting house, which like many another, and even like ancient Rome, was not built in a day. Soon after inhabitants began to gather in that lofty valley of the Berkshires, June 15, 1761, it was voted "that four shillings be raised on each lot to pay for raising the meeting house; and every man who comes early to have three shillings credit per diem, till the house be raised, and the committee to take account of each mans labor, the other shilling to be paid for rum and sugar."

Evidences of the earnest purpose of the fathers to maintain strict decorum in the meeting house, even among the turbulent generation of youngsters, are abundant in the early records of the New England churches. Alice Morse Earle in her interesting volume entitled "The Sabbath in Puritan New England" states that the boys in the Westfield Church "became so abominably rampant that the church formally decided that 'if there is not a Reformation Respecting the Disorders in the Pews built on the Great Beam in the time of Publick Worship the comite can pul it down,'" though such a vote is not now discoverable in the ancient records. It is probable that she made the statement on what seemed to her to be reliable authority, for considering the fundamental identity of human nature from generation to generation, it is not an incredible hypothesis that in early days there were boys, even in Puritan Westfield, who did not reveal at all times evidence of saving grace.

A similar problem became critical in Northampton. Trumbull says that "in March, 1800, the tithing men were directed to complain to a Justice of the Peace of any disorderly persons on the Sabbath, and instructed to prevent boys from leaving their seats until the service was ended." The restless and impatient spirits among them could ill brook the tedious exercises of the meetings, and were wont to break from restraint before the long service was concluded. The history of that town down to the early part of the nineteenth century abounds with references to desperate efforts of the

authorities to hold the rebellious boys in check on the Sabbath. An amusing incident is related, as told by the Rev. Dr. Dakin, who while praying in a church in Quincy was startled by a terrible commotion and opened his eyes to ascertain its cause; not like the pastor of one of the churches in Westfield, not many years since gathered to his fathers, always keeping his eyes open while engaged in public prayer. The startled divine was amazed to discover a red-haired boy clinging desperately to the railing of the gallery and tightly clutched by a venerable deacon. The two contestants struggled desperately until boy, deacon, and a section of the railing fell together with a resounding crash. The outraged official as speedily as possible, gathered up himself and his unequal antagonist and marched the ruddy-pated culprit out of the meeting house "and unmistakable swishing sounds, accompanied by loud wails and whining protestations, were soon heard from the region of the horse sheds."

The matter of books to be used in the service of song in public worship came up for consideration in November, 1805, and a committee of three was chosen to confer with Mr. Knapp "on the subject of purchasing Doct. Dwight's Collection of Psalms & Hymns." Teachers of singing were provided for from time to time, showing that there was considerable public interest in that important enterprise.

Care for the less favored inhabitants is shown by action taken Jan. 17, 1804, when it was "voted that the poor be supplied with wood the ensuing year in manner following (to wit) that the Selectmen shall give notice of the day they shall appoint for people to bring wood and that some one of them attend at the place to apprise said wood.

"On motion voted that the Selectmen be authorised to procure at the expense of the Town One barrel of salt pork for supplying the Poor the ensuing year and place the same in the hands of some person they shall appoint to be prudently dealt out by him to the poor."

From the latter vote one of three inferences may be naturally drawn: that the number of poor people was very small, that such as there were had no great fondness for salt pork, or that the prudence of the dispensing agent was expected to predominate over his generosity.

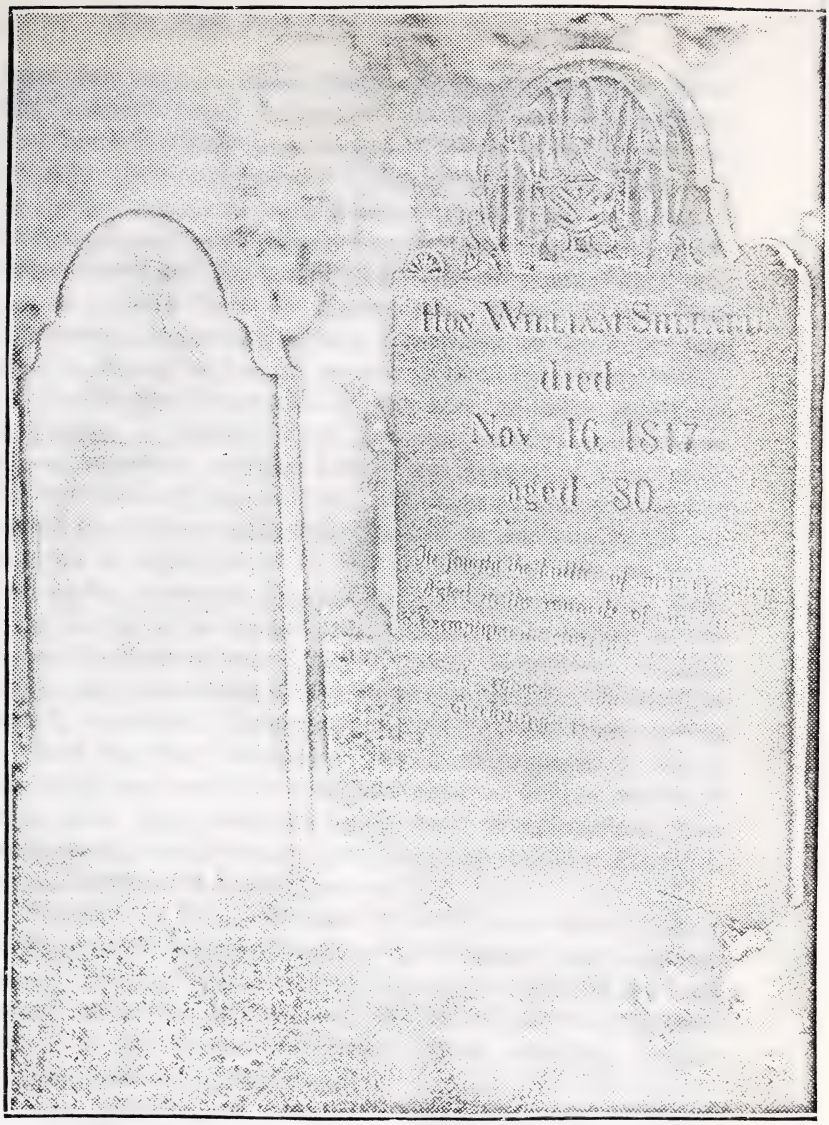
At the April meeting in 1809 $350 were raised for Mr. Knapp's salary and $50 additional for his wood. This latter arrangement must have proven more satisfactory than the former custom of having his wood drawn by individuals without any surety that the aggregate pile would prove adequate to the year's necessity.

At the March meeting, 1809, $100 were voted to repair the Great River bridge. It was also "voted that if any person either man or boy shall without being thereto properly Authorised by the Selectmen or some other person having Authority for the purpose ring the Meeting house Bell at any unusual time he shall forfeit & pay the sum of twenty five cents."

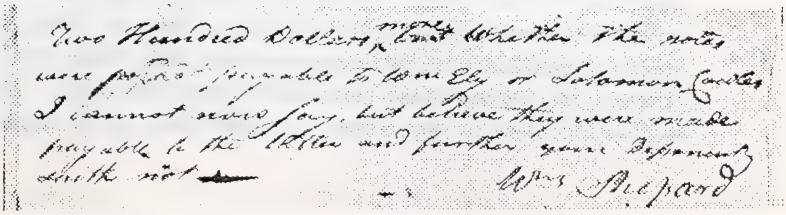
Thus early did the temptation to produce a wild clangor in the steeple to the alarm of nervous people of the vicinage prove too strong to be resisted by mischievous youths not only, but also by some of more mature years. The allurement of it ranks with that of the clandestine smashing of window glass which has proven the feebleness of many a youthful conscience.

The first suggestion of the beginning of manufacturing enterprises which later became such an important feature of the life of the town is given at the March meeting, 1809. The plan under immediate consideration now appears to have been very simple, but to the men of that period it looked so serious that fifteen prominent citizens were chosen to consider it,—William Shepard, Esq., Isaac Wells, Esq., Samuel Fowler, Esq., Lt. Silas Bush, Jedediah Taylor, Horace Noble, John Topliff, Chauncey Atkins, Isaac Fowler, Enoch Holcomb, Doct. Joshua Sumner, Ens. Bancroft, Benjn. Hastings, Ens. Amos Fowler, and Capt. William Moseley.

The whole matter is set forth in the report of that Committee, at an adjourned meeting: "Voted to accept the report of the Committee chosen at the former meeting to view the road at King's Meadow so called and make report thereon as to the disadvantage of permitting Mr. Richard Falley digging a trench or Canal across said road which report is as follows, Viz. "We your Committee appointed at a late Town meeting to take into Consideration that Clause in the warning of said Meeting respecting Mr. Richard Fally Carrying the water across the Public Road near William Shepard



TOMBSTONES IN THE OLD CEMETERY,
Of General Shepard and his wife, Sarah Dewey.


Two Hundred Dollars more but whether the notes were payable to Wm Ely or Solomon Cowles I cannot now say, but believe they were made payable to the latter and further your Deponent saith not
Wm Shepard

FACSIMILE OF NOTE AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL SHEPARD.

Esqr. beg leave to report that your Committee have viewed the Ground & heard the parties Concerned and are of Opinion that the said Falley have leave & Liberty to dig Across said Road for the Conveyance of Water to his proposed Machinery by giving bonds that he will keep in good repair a bridge or bridges Across said Trench for the accommodation of the public travel and Indemnify said Town all damage that may Accrue to said Town by digging said trench, to the Town Treasurer or Selectmen or such Committee as the Town may appoint, signed by request of your Committee. Isaac Wells."

That is the Richard Falley who had the tragic experience in Canada in Colonial days, and who secured appointment to an important position during the Revolution because of his superior mechanical ability. Whether at this time he had ceased from the manufacture of excellent muskets at the old shop on an eastern spur of Mount Tekoa, or still continued that earlier enterprise in connection with the new one, there is no means of ascertaining. He lived in the village in the house which stood where the Methodist church now stands, and is now next south of the church on Holland Avenue, as already explained. Subsequent action by the town reveals the fact that the "machinery" which he proposed to install was what was needed in a cotton factory. It is a matter of regret that there seems to be no way of ascertaining how extensive his establishment was, how long it was maintained, or what measure of success crowned it.

The road at King's Meadow referred to ran from the foot of the present Shepard Street to a ford where the river was crossed. King's Meadow lay on the opposite side on the level ground under the hill beyond the end of the thickly built section of the present Pochassick Street, including a tract of many acres of fine loamy soil.

Note, from Davis's History of Westfield. 1826. "Manufactures—Soon after the first settlement of the town tar was manufactured. Grist mills and saw mills were erected. It seems from some records that people came here to mill from Springfield. A cotton factory was erected some years since on Great River, but was destroyed by fire and has not been rebuilt. The principal article of manufacture at present is whips, great quantities are made and carried to various

parts of the country. This business furnishes employment for two or three hundred people. The manufacture of harness trimmings, harnesses, cigars, leather, shoes, hats, waggons, cabinet furniture, distillation of spirits, &c., &c. employs a great number of the inhabitants, giving activity to mercantile business, and opening a ready market for the farmer's produce."

"The Baptist Society of Westfield was organized and a church formed in 1784. The society is composed of families from Montgomery, Russell and Westfield. They have two Meeting-houses, one on Little River near the centre of the town, built from the remains of a house which formerly stood near the county bridge; their other house is five miles from the centre of the town on the west street of that part of the town called the Farms near Montgomery. It was built in 1820, near this the pastor resides and generally preaches in each house alternately."

Other items relating to its ministers follow.

After the completion of the meeting house and the settlement of the pastor the early years of the nineteenth century passed unmarked by events of striking interest in the life of the town. The Academy as a valuable educational institution was steadily augmenting and broadening its influence. The population of the town, instead of growing like its neighbors on the east and south, was not quite holding its own, for while the census of 1790 showed it to be 2203, as compared with 2367 for West Springfield, 1574 for Springfield, and 841 for Southwick, the census of 1800 gave Westfield 2185, West Springfield 2835, Springfield 2312, and Southwick 867. The third United States Census, that of 1810, showed a continuance of the same tendency in the four towns respectively. The population as then returned was, Westfield 2130, less by 55 than it had in the first year of the century, and 74 less than in 1790. Thus for twenty years the population was practically stationary.

In 1810 West Springfield reported 3109, Springfield 2767, and Southwick 1229. Not until the beginning of the next decade did Springfield show that it had outgrown its neighbor across the river; then the former had 3914, and the latter 3246.

The cause of this apparent loss of vigor on the part of Westfield is obscure. Whether the land available for the

agricultural pursuits upon which most of the people were dependent had been fully occupied and cultivated to its utmost limit according to the unscientific methods then practiced, so that there was small chance for newcomers to secure needed support, cannot be absolutely proved, but the probability that such was the case may account in part for the condition under consideration. The same lack of land available for new settlers may have existed in West Springfield, while its continued growth may have been due to its position on the larger river and its nearness to Springfield, which though not then growing rapidly was already a kind of natural center of the life and activities of the region.

At the March meeting in 1810, the following officers were chosen: Moderator, Samuel Fowler, Esq.; Town Clerk and Treasurer, John Ingersoll; Selectmen, Silas Bush, Benjamin Hastings, Enoch Holcomb, Frederick Fowler and Azariah Moseley; they were also Assessors and Overseers of the Poor; Sealers of Lumber, Caleb Bosworth and Erastus Grant; Sealers of Leather, Stephen Ashley and Stephen Douglass; Hogreeves, Samuel Buel, Jr., Ira Yeomans, Ziba Allers, Peter Furrow, Jr., Moses Sacket, 2d, Warham Shepard, Caleb Weller, Jason Dewey, Elijah Noble, Carmi Owen, Stephen Sacket, Jr., Henry Noble, Jeremiah Moseley and Pliny Hitchcock; Fence Viewers, John Stiles, Capt. John Mather, Martin Day, William Ingersoll, Aaron Sacket, Capt. Joshua Whipple, John Shepard, Sewal Dewey and Enoch Root; Surveyors of Highways, Blackleach Fowler, Elijah Bates, Ebenezer Fowler, Noah Phelps, Capt. Gad Root, Joel Sacket, Eager Noble, Edward Stiles, Ebenezer Witter, John Topliff, Isaac Dudley, Eben Atkins, Joseph Dudley, Capt. John Mather, Ezra Sacket, Josiah Lewis and Elihu Ely.

Five shillings was to be the price for a day's work upon the highway for a man, and ten shillings for a man and team until the first of September, and later in the year, four and eight shillings respectively.

The election of officers was completed by choosing the following: Tything Men, Horace Noble, John Mather, Silas Root; Field Drivers, William Taylor, Ebenezer Fowler, Samuel Root, Jr., Gad Noble, Charles Sacket, Martin Tinker, Jr., Gad Noble, Jr., Robert Gaylord, Charles Noble, Samuel Carter,

Joel Norton, Edward Root, Royal Weller, Elijah Sacket and Alexander McNiel; Constables, Aaron N. Phelps, Roswell Holcomb; Sealer of Weights and Measures, Sparry Douglas.

At a meeting held May 17, 1810, Jedediah Taylor and Benjamin Hastings were elected to represent the town at the next General Court. They were "instructed and directed to oppose the repeal of the Act of the General Court prohibiting the taking of shad at the mouth of the Agawam or Westfield River for the repeal of which a petition is now pending before the General Court." The people evidently felt that there ought not to be any such limitation put upon their rights and opportunities to take the valuable food fish farther up the stream.

The importance of the shad fishery on the Connecticut was early recognized by the English and was utilized before 1700. Both in it and in its tributaries an almost incredible abundance of shad, salmon, bass and other fish was taken each year by the settlers, as it had been from earlier periods by the Indians. Judd, in his History of Hadley, gives a detailed account of the industry during the eighteenth century. The shad were so numerous and cheap that for many years it was considered disreputable to use them. A story is told of a family in Hadley who were sitting down to a dinner of shad, when a knock was heard at the door and the discreditable dish was quickly removed and hidden under a bed before the door was opened. Families ate shad only when they were too poor to provide pork for the table. It is said that for a long period fishermen, when emptying their nets, saved the salmon therein and threw the shad back into the stream. The time came, indeed, when the former royal fish were so plentiful that in Feeding Hills and adjacent towns near the river, when apprentices were negotiating for the terms of their indentures, they stipulated that they should be served with salmon only a certain number of days each week. The late Mr. Norman T. Leonard, whose boyhood was spent there, was authority for that statement in talking with the author. In 1733 Joseph Hawley of Northampton bought thirty shad for a penny apiece. During many subsequent years the price was no higher. Later it ranged somewhat higher, until it reached fourpence apiece in 1800. Some thousands of barrels of shad

were provided for the Revolutionary troops, taken in Connecticut between 1778 and 1781. The price finally rose so high that the fish were no longer salted and barreled for family use.

A favorite fishing place was at the foot of the falls at South Hadley, before any dam was built there, called by the Indians Patucket. Below the falls shad were taken with scoop nets by men in boats. When a boat was loaded as deeply as safety permitted, it was taken ashore, emptied, and returned for another load. It is said that a skillful netter could capture from 2000 to 3000 shad a day, and there is testimony to the fact that the greatest haul ever known by seine at that point amounted to 3500, which makes a large demand upon popular credence.

In a note Mr. Judd says, "Morse's Geography, 5th edition, says that there were as many as fourteen fishing wharves at the foot of the falls in 1801, and that they sometimes caught 1200 fish at one haul; it was reported that one company cleared 4800 dollars in one season." (p. 308.)

Judd says, "Shad season brought to the falls, on both sides of the river, multitudes of people from various quarters. Some came from Berkshire County. All came on horses with bags to carry shad. Some, intending to purchase two loads of shad, led a horse. For some years there were only two licensed inn-keepers at the falls, Daniel Lamb and widow Mary Pomeroy, but every house on both sides of the river was full of men, and some lodged in shelters and out-houses. It was estimated one day that there were 1500 horses, on both sides of the river, this estimate is not reliable. A great number of the men brought victuals with them; many cooked shad, and others bought food at the houses. Where there were so many men, and rum was plenty, there was of course much noise, bustle and confusion. The greater part were industrious farmers, and after leaving the falls, they wound over the hills and plains in every direction. They were plainly dressed, according to their business. There was another class at these gatherings, composed of the idle, intemperate and the dissipated. They came to drink and frolic, and some to buy shad if their money held out." (p. 309.)

It is altogether probable that during successive spring

seasons while the fish were abundant many of the Westfield farmers were accustomed to take a day off to go through the notch where the Westfield and Holyoke railroad now runs, over to the famous fishing place to stock their larders for many subsequent meals. Yet we can understand why the larger number who remained at home should be jealous of the less fruitful fishing place at the foot of the falls in the Westfield River opposite the present location of the railroad station.

It is a fact worthy of note that within a period not many years past, shad have been taken on a fly with rod and line below the Holyoke dam in the Connecticut River.

Permission was also given at that May meeting to any number of persons to procure at their own expense and erect near the Green a pair of hay scales, their location to be determined by the selectmen. There was no report of the committee on the expense of a poorhouse at that meeting, though it had been voted that such a report should be made then.

The sum of $500 was voted for schools, Dec. 4, 1810, to "be divided on the scholars between the ages of four & sixteen years," and as usual a committee of fifteen was chosen to divide it, representing the several school districts. One of its members was Russell Dewey, he of the Revolutionary War Journal, who was a neighbor to his relative General Shepard on Shepard's Lane, now Franklin Street in earlier days, though at that time the General made his home with his son Warham on what is now Shepard Street.

At the March meeting, 1811, it was decided "to appropriate a piece of ground between Erastus Grant's shop and George Morgan's dwelling house to build a Gun house upon." The land was then to be conveyed by John Ingersoll, the town treasurer, to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to be held so long as it should be used for that purpose. This was evidently to provide a place of shelter for one or more cannon as a part of the equipment of the militia.

The year 1812 dawned and passed, and it is a wonder that in the successive accounts of proceedings in town meetings there is no reference, even a remote one, to the war which was then begun between the United States and Great Britain.

More inexplicable still, during its whole continuance until the Treaty of Peace was executed in 1815, there is no such reference. Several years earlier one solitary vote suggested that trouble was brewing between the two countries, when on Sept. 12, 1808, a motion was made that a committee should be raised for the purpose of preparing a memorial to the President of the United States requesting him to suspend the embargo laws, but after much debate the motion was lost.

The revisal of the list for the jury box was accepted Aug. 16, 1813, and a copy of it may be interesting as showing who were the men of the town upon whom the responsibilities of jury duty might rest at that time a century ago.

"Samuel Arnold	Eber Egleston	William Moseley
Isaac Allen	Elisher Ely	William Mathews
Luther Atkins	Isaac Ensign	Sylvanus G. Morley
Chauncey Atkins	Joel Farnum	Alexr McNiel
Ebenezer Allen	Frederic Fowler	Jacob Noble
Rantsford Allen	Richard Falley	Gad Noble Jr
Benjamin Alfred	Justus Fowler	Elijah Noble
Roger Bush	Amos Fowler	Eager Noble
Nehemiah Carter Jr.	Blackleach Fowler	Henry Noble
Joseph Carrier	John Fowler	Charles Noble
John Crooks	Ebenr. Fowler	William Noble
Jacob Cooper	Erastus Grant	Jared Noble
Ambrose Day	Eli Granger	Paul Noble
Martin Day	Asa Goodenough	Horace Noble
Amos Dewey	Benjn. Hastings	James Otis
Timothy Dewey	Horace Holcomb	Jabez Otis
James Dewey	William Ingersoll	Eber Phelps
Oliver Dewey	Belah King	Oliver Phelps
Roswell Dewey	David King	Gad Palmer
Justin Day	Charles Lee	Moses Phelps 2
Russell Dewey	Luman Lewis	Aaron N Phelps
Sparry Douglas	Josiah Lewis	Isaac Porter
Stephen Douglas	Azariah Moseley	Elijah Porter
Thos. Jas. Douglas	John Mather	Titus Pease
Joseph Dudley	Jacob Morse	Justus Preston
Sewell Dewey	James Morse	Silas Prout

Gad Root	Timothy Stebbins	Sylvester Tinker
Enoch Root	James Sacket	Jedediah Taylor
Ezekiel Sibly	Simon Smith	Henry Taylor
Warham Sacket	Moses Sacket 2	John Veits
Warham Shepard	Dan Spencer	Ebenezer Williams
Aaron Sacket	Roland Taylor	Joshua Whipple
Joel Sacket	Martin Tinker	Isaac Welles
Thomas Sheldon	John Topliff	Ira Yeomans
John Shepard	Joshua Tinker	Daniel Yeomans"

The names of several early settlers are noticeable in the above list, including as it does seven Deweys, six Fowlers, ten Nobles, three Taylors, four Phelpses, five Sackets and two Moseleys. At the meeting held Dec. 13, 1813, it was voted to raise $600 for the use of schools, which was an advance of $100 on any sum previously appropriated, a step forward from which the town did not subsequently recede. At the same meeting it was voted "that the Bell shall be tolled immediately after the Death of any person, the friends giving information to the Saxton." It was also voted "that the Town appoint a Saxton. When Eli Fowler was appointed."

At the May meeting following, Elijah Bates, Erastus Grant, Chauncey Atkins, Samuel Fowler and William Moseley, five of its foremost citizens, were appointed to procure a hearse for the use of the town.

At the April meeting, 1815, a committee of seven was chosen "to confer with Main Street district and agree upon what terms said district should be authorized to erect a schoolhouse on the town lot near Mr. Grants called the school lot."

At a meeting in May it reported, "as follows, to wit in favor of building your committee agree that there might be a house built between the lands of Widow Mercy Phelps & Mr. Lyman Lewis house where George Morgan now lives by moving the Gun House northerly so as to not obstruct the Gangway into sd Widow Phelps lot & placing sd school house south of the Gun House & northerly of sd Lewis House where Geo. Morgan now lives so as not to obstruct the highway to any injury of the Town or any individual by the Main Street District agreeing to pay into the Town Treasurer two dollars & fifty cents yearly for the use of schooling or agreeing to

take the whole of said school lot at the price it will average at for ten years back so long as the Town shall agree for the same & paying that sum into the Treasury yearly for the use of schooling. Signed by your Committee, William Moseley, Azh Moseley, Wm Shepard, Isaac Welles, Roswell Dewey, Town Committee. Westfield May 11th 1815"

That somewhat obscure report was adopted, and in accordance with it a schoolhouse was erected which stood in a coat of red paint until about 1860, when it was replaced by the building still standing on the north side of Main Street near the corner of White Street which was used for school purposes until about a dozen years ago.

That Westfield did not enjoy a full realization of its educational ambitions by the possession of so illustrious an institution as its widely celebrated Academy is evident from the following action, Aug. 17, 1815: "Voted that the Corporation of Williams College be allowed to locate the College in the Town of Westfield if they shall wish it in such place as the Corporation and the Town shall judge most suitable & proper." This enigmatical item can find explanation by reference to the history of the school of learning which was thus accorded courteous permission to transfer the plant and functions of the institution from its place among the Berkshires where it had been slowly developing for a quarter of a century to the former domain of the Woronocos. That the proposition was revolutionary is manifest, but it followed one no less sensational which but recently had been made by the trustees of the College. A sharp crisis in its affairs threatened its very existence. At a meeting of the Trustees in the preceding May, after having accepted the resignation of the President, Dr. Ebenezer Fitch, who had been such incumbent from the institution of the College in 1793, they approved the following motion: "That a committee of six persons be appointed to take into consideration the removal of the College to some other part of the Commonwealth; to make all necessary inquiries, which have a bearing upon the subject, and report at the next meeting." The committee chosen consisted of Theophilus Packard of Shelburne, Thaddeus Pomeroy of Stockbridge, Joseph Lyman of Northampton, Samuel Shepard of Lenox, Daniel Noble of Williamstown and Joseph Woodbridge of Stockbridge.

It cannot be determined with whom this idea originated, but the ground of it is easily explained. The situation of the College, in the extreme northwestern corner of Massachusetts, separated from the more thickly populated region in the Connecticut River valley and farther east by the steep ramparts of the Hoosac Mountain range, rendered it very difficult of access and interfered with the growth of the community in which it was located. These natural restrictions threatened the prosperity of the institution and pressed upon its Trustees the question of the advisability of its removal to a location affording more favorable natural and economic conditions. The question received no definite answer in the report of the committee in September following, "That a removal of Williams College from Williamstown is inexpedient at the present time and under existing circumstances." The action of the town of Westfield quoted above was taken a month before that report was made.

That Westfield offered many advantages to the College is evident, but in the popular mind at that time they were not so great as those urged in favor of Northampton, as we may readily recognize at this day. That the same conclusion was afterward reached by the citizens of Westfield themselves is proven by their adoption in April, 1819, of a motion proposed by the Hon. Samuel Fowler: "To wit, Should the College now at Williamstown in the County of Berkshire be removed to some place in the old County of Hampshire, it is the opinion of the Inhabitants of this Town that Northampton is the most suitable place." In the period between the two votes of the town upon the subject the affairs of the College were greatly disturbed and their issue was very uncertain. At that May meeting of the Trustees in 1815, Dr. Zephaniah Swift Moore had been elected President in the place of Dr. Fitch. The average number of the first three classes graduated under his administration was fourteen, showing that he had been unable to afford any appreciable stimulus to the growth of the College. At the Commencement in 1818, one of the trustees, Theophilus Packard of Shelburne, who was an earnest advocate of removal, presented a petition from the board of trustees of Amherst Academy requesting the College to unite with them in establishing a college at Amherst. This proposition having been re-

jected, an extra meeting of the Trustees was convened in November when President Moore submitted a plan for removal accompanied with a statement that unless it were approved he would resign his office, having accepted it under the impression that such removal had been already agreed upon. The Trustees then voted in favor of removal to some central part of the State when sufficient funds to defray necessary expenses could be obtained, subject to the approval of the General Court. They also prepared for presentation to the public an appeal for funds to render possible a removal to Northampton. In August, 1819, a large public meeting was held at Northampton to promote the enterprise, presided over by President Moore. A meeting protesting against removal was held in Pittsfield in October following.

The Trustees in November made a proposition to the Trustees of Amherst Academy, incorporated in 1816, to unite their funds with these of the College in case of removal of the College to Northampton. This offer was refused, with the assurance that no plan of union which did not adopt Amherst as the location of the proposed institution would be accepted. Three towns were then competing for the poor distressed College, Williamstown, Northampton and Amherst.

The next step on the part of the Trustees was to petition the Legislature for permission to remove to Northampton. The refusal of that body to grant the request settled the matter finally, and most wisely. The loss to the College of its unique and magnificent location as chosen by its sagacious founder would have been an irreparable one to all succeeding generations of its mountain-loving students. But though the question of location had been determined irrevocably, shoals and quicksands were still imminent. In May, 1821, the Trustees of Amherst Academy "Voted unanimously that the Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore be, and is hereby elected President of the Charity Institution in this town." He accepted that office and only waited till after Commencement to undertake its responsibilities.

At that critical time, when several members of the Senior class had asked for dismission to take their degrees at other institutions, and others of lower classes were determined to follow President Moore to Amherst, two members of the Senior

class at a very important meeting stood out boldly in expression of a determination to stand by the College and have Commencement exercises though they two alone participated therein. So great was the admiration of their heroic stand, and so hearty was the enthusiasm which it inspired, that every member of the class rallied to their support, not a man seeking his degree elsewhere. One of those two noble sons of Williams was Emerson Davis, who soon afterward sought Westfield as the sphere of his life work and became so prominent and valuable a citizen there during the remainder of his life.

There had been considerable discussion relative to the sale of the ministry land left by the will of Samuel Root in 1712 for the support of the ministry of the Congregational church in Westfield. At the March meeting, 1816, it was voted to sell for a reasonable sum a quarter of an acre of the parsonage lot near the minister's house. This parsonage or ministerial lot was on what is now the corner of Franklin and Washington Streets, Mr. Knapp's house having been just west of it on Franklin Street. In order to facilitate that sale and any other which might be made thereafter, the town, at the April meeting following, appointed a committee, consisting of Samuel Fowler, Isaac Welles, William Shepard, Jedediah Taylor and William Blair, to petition the Legislature to incorporate a body of trustees "to secure the proceeds of the sale."

The first account of the incorporation of a church as such was taken respecting the Congregational church at Norton, and that was followed during succeeding years by many other churches of various denominations. In this instance the action taken was more limited and specific than that:

"An Act authorizing the sale of certain lands in the town of Westfield, and for other purposes.

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That William Shepard, Samuel Fowler, Isaac Welles, Jedediah Taylor, Azariah Moseley, Frederick Fowler and William Atwater, be, and they are hereby incorporated into a body politic, by the name of the Trustees of the Ministerial Fund in the Town of Westfield, and they and their successors shall continue a body politic forever; &c."

It was approved by the Governor, Dec. 14, 1816. The

Westfield Representatives at General Court that year were Benjamin Hastings, William Blair and James Fowler.

In 1818 a committee was designated "to make arrangements for a Grammar School." In May of that year the treasurer was "directed to raise money on the Credit of the Town to settle the fine imposd for not keeping Grammar School." It was there voted to employ Mr. Knapp to keep such a school under the superintendency of Samuel Fowler, Esq., and William Moseley, Esq., the first instance of the employment of any citizens to do work corresponding in any way with that of the modern School Committee. In 1701, however, a law had been passed forbidding a minister to act as a grammar school teacher. At a meeting in 1818 there was adopted a report of a committee of twelve citizens, headed by Hon. Samuel Fowler, dividing and defining the school districts. There were seventeen districts, designated as follows: Green, Great River, Shepard Lane, Pochasick, Farms West, Munn's Brook East, Silver Street, Munn's Brook West, Moses Dewey, Noble Town, Owen, Main Street, Little River, East End, Farms East, Stephen Sacket, Edmund Ely.

A premonition of the separation of church and state in this Commonwealth is furnished by action taken at the March meeting, 1820, when it was "Voted that the Town will paint the Meeting House, the expense to be assessed upon the Congregational Society, agreeable to the 7th Article in the Warrant." That article is couched in the following terms: "To see if the Town will paint the Meeting House provided the expense be defrayed by the Congregational Society in the same manner as the Minister tax is raised."

It was not until nearly a decade later that the Congregational Society was formally organized as a distinct body.

A matter of interest to the parson was settled at the March meeting, 1820, when it was voted that the "Town Treasurer be authorized to convey Pew No 36 in Westfield Meeting House (lately occupied by Revd Isaac Knapp's Family) to Elijah Bates Esq. upon condition said Bates convey to the Town, for the use of the Ministry Pew No 11 in said Meeting House."

At the same meeting it was decided, in accordance with the recommendation of a committee to erect a powder house of wood or brick, six feet square, on some part of the burying

ground, apparently a very striking instance of "safety first," since an explosion there could have threatened no damage to human life, for when a man is dead he is dead.

To preface report May 17, 1762, John Shepard, Moderator, "Voted, To chuse a Committee to provide a house by purchasing of William Harrison Church's house or Ezekiel Nobles shop or by building of a suitable house for ye use of the Town in anything the town shall have occation for it & also to set a house on any place on ye town land as they shall judge most convenient for ye use of ye town fully authorizing to act according to ye best of their judgment for ye good of ye town—Committee chosen,—David Moseley Esq., Eldad Taylor, Nathl Weller, David Fowler, Capt. John Moseley."

The necessity of having such a building for various civic uses was recognized by one of the most useful, broad-minded and liberal citizens for many years of that period of the town's life, the Hon. Samuel Fowler, a man interested in every worthy enterprise, religious, educational and civil, ever exerting himself to promote the public welfare. With a keen discernment of the needs of the town for a place for public gatherings other than the meeting house which had been the only place available for such purposes, except the narrow limits of the assembly hall of the Academy, he prepared a building suitable to its needs.

The December town meeting was called to gather in the meeting house as usual, but after its business had proceeded for a short time it was voted that "this meeting adjourn to the Town House," a building not previously known to the people, where formal thanks for the generous gift were voted.

In the deed of gift to the town which was formally executed, Nov. 20, 1820, and acknowledged before Jesse Farnum, Justice of the Peace, the lot on which the building stood is defined as follows: The building given was "standing near the Academy with the ground on which it stands, bounded South on the Academy Land, West on the Highway, North and East upon the Grantor, to be used & Occupied by the said Town of Westfield for all the Town purposes, & equally free for all & each Religious Society or denomination in said Town on *Week* days, & to be under the general direction & controul of the Said Town." The building thus presented stood south of the present location of the Town Hall, about on the corner of

Academy Street which was originally called Canal Street because it led from Broad Street to the old canal basin. The horse sheds of the church stood back of that Town House. Later it was bought by the church, moved to the north side of the meeting house and for many years used as a Conference House.

In October, 1820, in response to action of the General Court, the town met to choose delegates to a convention to be held at Boston on the third Wednesday of the month following, "for the purpose of revising the Government of this Commonwealth." Hon. Samuel Fowler, Jedediah Taylor, and Jesse Farnum, Esq., were appointed to represent the town.

The Colony was governed under royal charter until the adoption by Congress, May 15, 1776, of resolution declaring "that the exercise of enny kind of authority under the crown should be suppressed" and that "all powers of government" should be "exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies." In September, 1776, the Massachusetts Assembly took steps toward framing a form of government. That movement finally failed, the people rejecting the plans proposed.

The General Court initiated another attempt to formulate a constitution, Feb. 20, 1779, and by vote June 17, 1779, provided for election of delegates. They met Sept. 1, 1779, and after several adjournments finally, June 16, 1780, after having submitted their product to the people for ratification, declared it "to be the Constitution of Government established by and for the inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts Bay."

The Legislature of 1820 decided that a revision was necessary. The people approved, and Nov. 15 the convention met at the State House, in the representatives' chamber. The Convention concluded its work Jan. 9, 1821, and a Committee to examine returns announced May 24, 1821, that the Constitution had been ratified.

At the March meeting, 1822, James Fowler, Esq., was chosen moderator, Enoch Loomis, town clerk, Isaac Welles, Esq., town treasurer. The selectmen elected were Azariah Moseley, Ambrose Day, Warham Shepard, Elisha G. Cook, and Henry Fowler. Preliminary steps to provide the town with an engine house were then taken, Capt William Moseley having been appointed with Abner Post and Eli B. Hamilton to procure a suitable place for it.

CHAPTER III.

Westfield's Newspapers

Five towns of western Massachusetts began respectively to publish a newspaper during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and within a period of ten years. They appeared in the following order: The Massachusetts Gazette or The General Advertiser, in Springfield, in May, 1782; The Hampshire Gazette, in Northampton, May 6, 1786; The American Centinel, in Pittsfield, Dec. 1, 1787; The Berkshire Star, in Stockbridge, November, 1789; The Impartial Intelligencer, Greenfield, Feb. 1, 1792. Though Westfield in 1790 was very considerably larger than any of those towns, it had no newspaper until more than three decades after Greenfield began its publication, when three of the above towns, Springfield, Northampton and Pittsfield, outranked it in population. Maj. Joseph Root made the first venture of the kind in Westfield, Feb. 18, 1824, in issuing the initial number of the Hampden Register.

The following citations from its prospectus indicate its character and purpose:

"The Register in its political character will be conducted upon republican principles. It shall never become the vehicle for the propagation of slander, nor an instrument to gratify personal revenge. The period of foul recrimination and party animosity is past; and it is believed the time has already arrived when a paper may be conducted on principles purely national; devoted exclusively to the interests of the people, and not to that of a party.

"Every effort will be made to possess the readers of the Register with the earliest political intelligence, as well as with a brief summary of what is interesting and important to the religious community. In short the Register will be devoted, not only to the advancement of literature and religion; but its columns will always be open to whatever will subserve the great interests of Agriculture, Commerce or Manufactures."

This first issue contains a long communication signed

"Amicus" in which are sundry suggestions relative to the conduct of the enterprise, including the following: "Call upon the virtuous and good to dispel prejudice, refute sophistry, excite patriotism, cherish industry, and teach man to be kind and lovely to man. You will have many desultory readers, who seek rather for *amusement*, than *instruction*, let them be gratified. Keep the poets corner *sacred*—and 'let Columbia's Muse advance and claim his right'—encourage the energies of the female pen in this department—man fond of *novelty* and pleased with variety must be indulged. Obituary and Hymenial notices of this and the adjacent towns 'tis to be hoped will be attended to." There are eight advertisements, six of Westfield persons and two of Springfield.

The next issue that is preserved in the Atheneum bears date of Sept. 29, 1824, in which the number of advertisements is exactly doubled, including one of a dancing school at Maj. Morgan's Hall, and the following: "One Cent Reward. Ran away on the 17th inst. Nathan Denty, an indentured boy; this is to forbid any person harboring or trusting him on my account. Whoever may return said runaway, shall have no questions asked, and no charges paid. Jeremiah Moseley. Westfield, Sept. 20, 1824."

In the issue of March 8, 1826, is an interesting communication indicating the primitive manners of some of the wayfarers: "Mr. Root—I perceive there are some persons who ride horseback on our side-walk, and in some instances, where there are no posts or railing, carts and waggons are drove upon them. If these persons would but just put on their thinking caps, they would recollect that they are liable to be prosecuted and fined *one dollar* for *every* and *each* offence. I would therefore in a friendly manner, just remind those who are guilty of this practice, that if it is much longer continued they will not be at the trouble of looking up their thinking caps *themselves*. Sidewalks were never intended for waggons, carts or horses—they were built expressly for people going on foot doing business. They are no better than the *road* for foot people, if they are thus to be wickedly destroyed. Justice."

At the close of an advertisement of the "London Store," promising a clear saving of 10 to 20 per cent from the New

York prices, the naive statement is made, "Some of the above goods are warranted good, and others are miserably poor; if they are not so, they may be returned and the money refunded or secured. Expected soon, a few pieces of ginghams at eight cents, also almost every description of goods usually found in a country store at the lowest prices, but those that are 10, 20 or 50 per cent lower than the cargo prices in New York, I have too much diffidence in my own judgment, to call them the best quality or good. Robert Whitney."

The April 5 issue of the Register contains a forecast from the Berkshire Star. The writer is confident that "in less than five years we shall see a complete line of intercourse (by means of a railway) over these hills from Albany to Boston." The estimated cost for the construction of the 170 miles of road, including the track, was $2,383,600. "Add to this the purchase of land, a bridge across Connecticut River and other streams; together with the erection (if necessary) of water wheels or steam engines on summits otherwise impassable, and $3,000,000 will be an ample fund for the accomplishment of the undertaking." Merchandise and passengers were to be carried each way at a rate of ten miles an hour. There is also the notice of a meeting to be held in the west part of Becket at W. & M. Chaffee's House, to consult on the expediency of a Canal running from Westfield or Southwick to the Hudson River, "through the west part of Granville to Otis, being the height of ground; thence through the hollow in the west part of Becket and a part of Lee to the Housatonuc; from thence to Albany, Troy or Hudson, as shall be most practicable and useful."

In the issue of May 24, 1826, of the Hampden Register appears the following, "Died, in this town on Monday last, very suddenly, Mr. John Baker, aged 85. Mr. B. was a native of Hungary, came to this country with Burgoyne, and deserted from his Army and joined the American, in whose service he continued his aid till the close of the Revolution. He was a pensioner." May 31, 1826: "Jasper R. Rand & George Whipple have purchased the Tannery recently owned & run by Alexander McNeil."

At the end of two years the Hampden Register was placed under the editorial charge of Dr. Job Clark, with Major Root

responsible exclusively for the publishing department. A year later, April 25, 1827, it passed into the hands of V. W. Smith and John B. Eldridge, who amazed their patrons by betraying a partiality for General Jackson as a Presidential candidate and soon violently opposing Mr. Adams. This so incensed the subscribers that they withdrew patronage until the proprietors became discouraged. Mr. Smith retired from the enterprise in the following September, and Mr. Eldridge sold it back to Major Root in November, 1828. He in turn soon sold it to J. D. Huntington, who changed its name to the Westfield Register and turned its support to the Whig party. Thus it was maintained until Nov. 29, 1831, when it was discontinued.

Though the local items of those early newspapers are scanty they furnish much of interest from time to time while we hunger for fuller reports of local happenings. The editors of those early days seemed to think that such matters would be so familiar to their patrons as to make their publication needless.

That the people were sympathetic with distresses of a nation across the ocean struggling for liberty is evidenced by the fact that at the close of the monthly concert of prayer on the evening of the first Monday of March, 1826, letters were read from committees in Boston and Springfield dealing with the sufferings of the christian Greeks under the tyranny of their Ottoman oppressors. It was unanimously voted to take up a contribution for them on the next Sabbath, and another at town meeting on the following Monday. A committee was chosen to solicit funds and supplies of clothing, and a committee of ladies was appointed to engage in making clothing. There is the customary exasperating silence in subsequent issues relative to the results of those philanthropic efforts.

Many people will doubtless recall a signboard at a fork of the road above the paper mill at Woronoco, formerly Salmon Falls, bearing the words, "New Turnpike to Albany." A notice appears in the Hampden Register of June 7, 1826, stating that a new turnpike by the name of the Hampden and Berkshire Turnpike, incorporated by the last legislature, had been opened recently. "It commences near the house

of J. A. Mallory, Jr., in Russell and runs through Blandford, the north part of Otis, and intersects the Turnpike near Chaffee's tavern in the west part of Becket." Its advantages were easier grades, less sand, and a saving of five miles in twenty-one and a half miles. Subscriptions for the last third of the expense were asked for.

Aug. 23, 1826, notice is given of a meeting at Major Morgan's Coffee House for the purpose of organizing a new company of firemen to have a new engine. The old company was to be continued and have its engine repaired.

There is an advertisement for "a first rate Pedlar" by Farnum's Whip Factory, and two advertisements of concerns for dressing cloth appear, one by Zadoc Bosworth, Jr., and the other by Elijah Smith. David Moseley, attorney for William Moseley, offers a reward of three cents for an indentured boy who has run away.

Sept. 13, 1826. In a detailed account of the Commencement at Williams College held a week before it is said that a great concourse of people was in attendance, the degree of A.B. was conferred on 28 young men, A.M. on 3 and M.D. on 17. At that time the medical school at Pittsfield was connected with the college. Among the appointments on the commencement stage was a philosophical oration on "Caloric" by Albert Hopkins of Stockbridge. He was the elder brother of Pres. Mark Hopkins, who became professor of astronomy and in his later years was familiarly known to the student body as "Old Al," a notable man who greatly stimulated the religious life of the college and for very many years conducted the daily noon prayer meeting, long before the New York Fulton Street prayer meeting was instituted.

Nov. 15, advertisement: "Published, And for sale at the Bookstore, the History of Westfield. Price 25 cents." That was the work of Mr. Emerson Davis, containing much valuable material, though a modest volume of but 26 pages.

Feb. 21, 1827, Wednesday. Obituary notice. "Died in this town Sunday evening last, Mr. Russell Dewey, aged 72. Mr. D. entered the Revolutionary Army at the commencement of hostilities, and continued in it most of the time during the war. He was engaged in a number of battles, and among others, that of Bunker Hill, where he maintained his

ground near the rail fence until he had fired 13 of the 17 cartridges he carried into the field. He was emphatically a lover of his country. His property excluded him from enjoying a pension, with many of his fellow soldiers in arms. Funeral this afternoon at 1 o'clock."

Notice of a precursor of the modern kindergarten is given editorially, Sept. 9, to the effect that an "Infant School was commenced in this village about four weeks since by Mrs. J. Clark. The number of scholars is already about 30; Mrs. Clark is well qualified for the task she has taken upon her, and we trust will receive extensive patronage."

The conclusion of the following action suggests a problem for an actuary of one of our great modern insurance corporations: "The Committee appointed last month for the purpose of inquiring out a suitable spot for a Burying ground reported that they had examined several spots viz one near Major Morgan's Distillery, one on Sam'l Arnolds lot one on James Bush's lot towards Great River & find that either of these places might be obtained for a reasonable sum & that they would probably answer the purpose. After some desultory remarks however it was agreed 'to postpone the subject for the present, believing that in the course of a few years the Phillips lot adjoining the old Burying Ground according to the common principles of mortality would be offered for sale by Executors or Administrators, & that this by far the most elligible spot for the purpose. Subject dismissed.' It was now moved & seconded to procure stoves for the Congregational meeting house. The vote was put, 'shall the congregational society raise any money to procure stoves?' The vote being taken it appeared there was an equal number for & against raising money for this purpose; upon which the Moderator [Isaac Wells] gave his casting vote in the affirmative. It was however thought expedient 'to reconsider the vote & postpone the subject for the present, & in the meantime appoint a Committee to examine into the propriety & expense of furnishing stoves.'" It was also voted to pass over the article relative to window blinds.

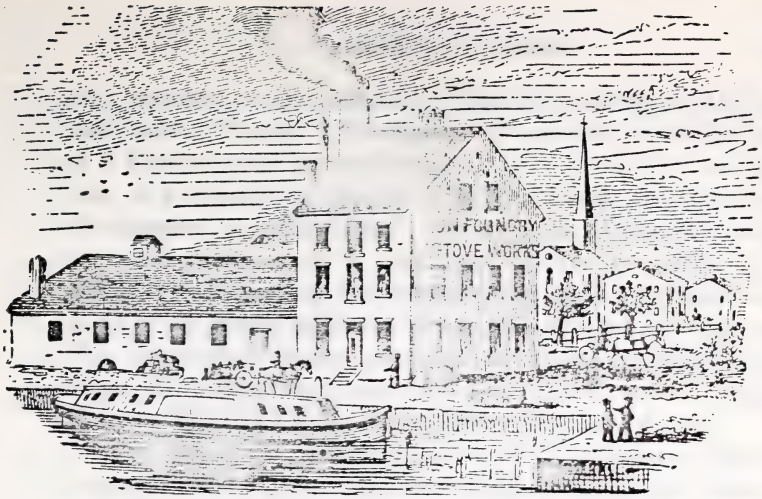
Thus the people who assembled for worship in the Bulfinch meetinghouse, had to endure the rigors of another New England winter with no other source of physical warmth

than the exasperatingly inadequate footstoves. The larger stoves were finally furnished, but not until four years later, in December, 1827, when it was "voted that the Selectmen procure at the expense of the Congregational Society of this Town, two Stoves together with the Pipes, not to exceed in amount Eighty Dollars." Thenceforward a shivering congregation did not need to resort for consolation in its discomfort to complacency over the architectural beauty of the meetinghouse, and the orthodoxy of minister and members.

There is an amusing legend which has come down from that period relating to a captious spinster of more than mature age. Having been among those who violently opposed the introduction of stoves she went to the first Sunday service after they were put in place, so hot with protest against them that after having sat gasping for breath in the stifling atmosphere during a part of the exercises she arose, and fanning herself vigorously, stalked out of the assembly to emphasize her indignation against the innovation, blissfully unconscious of the fact, known to most of the congregation, however, that there was not a spark of fire in the offending heaters.

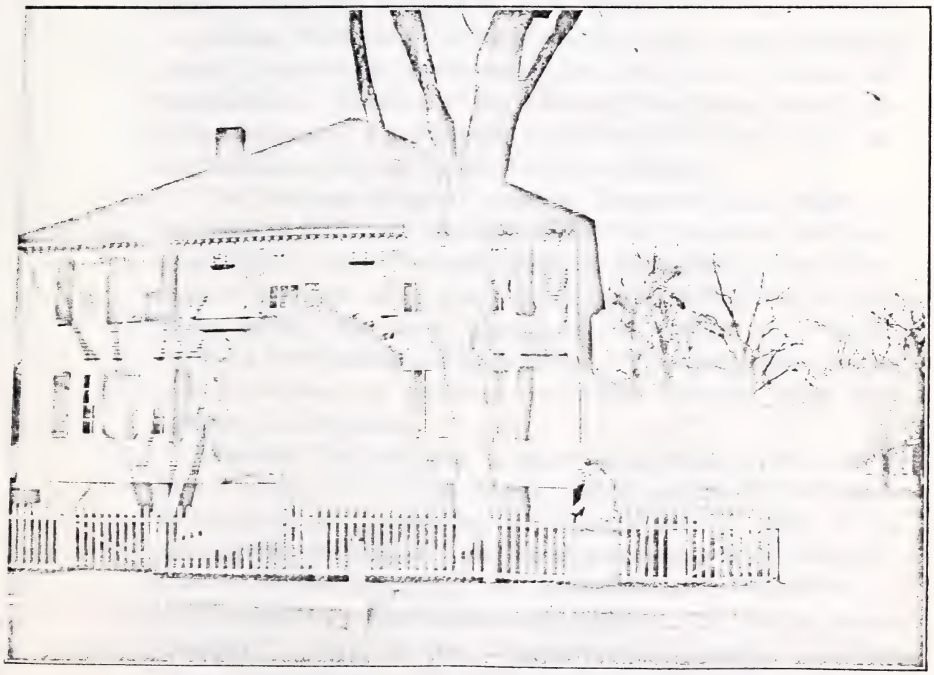
The negotiations for the purchase of the William Phillips property to secure an enlargement of the burying ground were consummated even sooner than the canny forecasters of the town meeting had anticipated, for $125 per acre. About an acre and a half of the area purchased was laid out by a committee into something over a hundred lots, with stone posts at their respective corners. There is a record of the sale of forty of the lots at prices ranging from $2.30 to $1.05 apiece, the total aggregating $55.35. There certainly was nothing in the transaction looking toward provision for a reserve fund for care of the premises. Any one who has visited an oldtime burying ground in a rural district knows how sadly the matter of care is slighted. Even when the cemetery on Pine Hill in Westfield was opened, and for some time thereafter, prices for lots were scarcely higher than the absurd rates of the earlier day.

At the March meeting, 1835, the first intimation is given of a plan which resulted in the establishment of the park of modest proportions in the center of the town, of varying degrees of attractiveness during the period of three-quarters



THE T. A. LEWIS FOUNDRY.

From this foundry the present establishment of the H. B. Smith Company has been developed, with a second extensive plant on the north side of the river, employing upwards of 1,200 hands. The spire of the Bulfinch Meeting House is in the background and the old Canal Basin, the "Port of Westfield," in the foreground.



THE LIEUTENANT ZACHARIAH BUSH HOUSE.

This house is still standing on Main Street opposite the H. B. Smith Company's foundry. It was erected in early Revolutionary times and for many years has been occupied by the Thomas A. Lewis family. On the east side of it a section of the old Canal is shown.

of a century of its existence. The sixth article of the warrant reads, "To see if the Town will consent to the inclosure of a Park or common on the Green to be done with the sanction of a committee appointed by the Town and entirely at the expense of individuals." Acting upon it the town voted that it be referred to a committee of nine to report at the coming April meeting, the ground to be staked out meanwhile so that the public might get a fair idea of what was proposed. The committee chosen consisted of Jehial Abbott, Gideon Drake, John Mather, David Moseley, N. T. Leonard, Archipus Morgan, Quartus Clapp, Aaron Sibley and Ezra Allen.

The report of the committee as subsequently accepted is as follows: "The Committee appointed by the Town at their last meeting for the purpose of locating an enclosure to be used as a *Park* respectfully report that they have located such an enclosure on the public Green in said Westfield of an elliptical form its greatest width to be seven rods & its greatest length 20 rods, its greatest width to correspond with a line running from the North Corner of Court St. & the Green & the North West corner of the Meeting House and extending North 11 rods from the aforesaid line, and South 9 Rods from the said line. Voted that the following Gentlemen be a Committee to erect a fence around said above described Park, viz. Ira Yeamans, Gideon Drake, Archipus Morgan."

Two matters of great moment interested the voters of the town in 1837, one relating to what was known as the "Surplus Fund," which became available through a general division of national funds due to the liquidation of the United States bank; the other relating to the erection of a building for a town house and high school. The final result proved that there was an intimate connection between these two subjects of discussion.

President Jackson was a bitter antagonist of the United States bank, chartered in March, 1816, and finally succeeded in securing the passage by Congress, June 23, 1836, of an act whereby the funds of the bank, amounting to $37,000,000, were to be divided among the several States in proportion to their respective representation in Congress. It was to secure Westfield's share of the Commonwealth's quota of those funds, amounting to $1,338,173.58, that the town voted at

the April meeting, 1837, "that the Treasurer be authorized and directed to procure and receive the proportion of the surplus fund apportioned to this town & that the income of the same be appropriated to the support of the common schools. Voted that this town's proportion of the surplus money be deposited in the treasury to be drawn out by order of Selectmen or so much thereof as shall be necessary for the use of the Town & the residue to be loaned on good security provided a sum equal to the interest of said fund be appropriated for the support of common schools."

In May following, having elected Matthew Ives, Jr., Moderator, this further action was taken: "Voted that this town agrees to receive from the Treasurer & Receiver General of the Commonwealth its proportion of the Surplus Revenue of the United States in deposite & will comply with the terms & provisions of the several acts passed by the Legislature of said Commonwealth concerning the deposite of the Surplus Revenue. Voted that Asa B. Whitman Town Treasurer be the agent of this town for the purpose of receiving from the Treasurer & Receiver General of this Commonwealth this town's proportion of the said Revenue in deposite. Voted that Asa B. Whitman agent as aforesaid be & hereby is authorized to sign a certificate of deposite for the sums of money he may receive from time to time from the said Treasurer & Receiver General of this Commonwealth binding the town in its corporate capacity for the repayment to the said Treasurer of the money so deposited with this town & any & every part thereof whenever the same shall be required by said Treasurer & Receiver General to be by him refunded to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States."

In the warrant for a meeting in August, 1837, various alternatives were suggested, such for instance as abandoning the whole project of building a high school, another for attempting to arrange with the Academy trustees to provide tuition for such pupils as should desire to take a high school course, and still another, "To see if the Town will remove the Congregational Meeting house on the ground fitted for the location of the town house, place the front of the steeple on a line parallel with the present town house & Simeon Col-

lins store, raise the sd meeting house sufficiently & finish a room under it for a town house." The Gordian knot was finally cut, and the disaffected citizens were vanquished by the vote subsequently taken, which was clear as sunlight, to the effect "that the Committee be empowered to proceed with their contract with Bush & Shepard in relation to the building of the Town House & finish the same with the seats & desk for the Town House & seats & desks necessary for the school room not exceeding forty-five hundred dollars for the same & that the money be drawn from the Town Treasury for the same." Then follows a vote of acceptance of the land, showing that it was a gift from some source not indicated.

The local tradition, supported by the testimony of witnesses still living, relative to the devotion of a sufficient portion of the town's share of the "surplus fund" to defraying the expense of building what was known as the town hall and high school building, is too well established to be doubted. Though there is preserved no formal record of a specific vote determining such action, the town treasurer's book covering that period enlightens us respecting the amounts received from the fund and the amounts paid to the contractors for their work in erecting the building:

The town received:

May 13, 1837	$4,286.63
July 29, 1837	1,932.85
	$6,219.48

Paid to Bush & Shepard:

July 14, 1837	800.00
Undated	800.00
Undated	800.00
Undated	350.00
	$2,750.00

That course might have been legally pursued without specific action, under the general vote to use the fund which was thus showered upon them out of a clear sky, for the benefit of the common schools, on the ground that the new building was to be used, in part at least, to accommodate a high

school. The balance of the surplus fund may have been left in the general fund for school uses.

At a meeting held Jan. 30, 1839, action was taken on the third article of the warrant which read, "To see what measures the Town will adopt towards complying with the law making it obligatory on the Town to support a High School."

At that meeting the matter was put into the charge of a committee consisting of eighteen influential citizens: William G. Bates, Hiram Harrison, George Knapp, Lucius F. Thayer, Daniel Bush, Allan Hubbard, Lyman Porter, George Noble, Stephen Harrison, David Moseley, Ira Yeamans, Abijah Owen, Ezra Allen, Sturges Upson, Roswell Sherman, Roswell Brown, Samuel Drake and Gideon Drake. They were to make a careful and extended report of the amount of taxes assessed upon, and paid by, the inhabitants of each of the several school districts in the year 1838, the amount which each district was to receive from the sum thus collected, the number of families in each district; to report also on the expedience of building a union schoolhouse in Hoop Pole [Mundale], and of finishing the town and high school house. With those varied and burdensome tasks on their shoulders it is not strange that the committee was so large.

The new town house was used for the first time for the March meeting, 1839, and, since then considerably enlarged, has been used to furnish an assembly hall and offices for town business.

The committee as named and empowered at a previous meeting made an important report covering the various subjects indicated: "That they have ascertained the number of families in the Town & find the same to be five hundred and eighty-three. That they have also revised the names of the different school districts, have ascertained the amount of taxes paid by each School District, the proportion of the school tax of $1250. which each district would pay & also the like proportion which each district would receive from such school tax."

The names and sums were reported in full, and the committee accompanied the foregoing report with the following Resolves:

"1. Resolved that in the opinion of the committee the faith

of the town is pledged to the several School Districts by the vote of the town in relation to the subject of Common Schools passed, & that whenever any school district shall bring itself within the terms of that vote the town will pay the sum of money stipulated by said vote.

"2. Resolved that it is expedient to finish the rooms of the high school house with benches & seats & that the same be done forthwith under the direction of a committee.

"3. Resolved that it is expedient to raise $1200 to be distributed on the scholars & three hundred dollars to be devoted to the purpose of a high school."

The report was accepted, and Warren Whitman, Ezra Allen and Allen Hubbard were appointed to secure equipment for the high school, seeming to indicate that such a school in modest form was then operated. A vote of kindred import was passed at the March meeting, 1840, the Selectmen being chosen to procure what the schoolrooms in the town hall needed.

It is exceedingly difficult to determine with absolute accuracy just when the high school began its individual existence. Three interviews of the author with persons who respectively were identified with its earliest years throw light upon the perplexing question. Miss Eliza Halliday attended it when 11 years old in 1842, which she thought was the year in which it was opened. She was in the Academy from 1845 to 1848, and then went to the normal school, which two years earlier had occupied its new building on School Street.

Mrs. Leonard Atwater, who died Oct. 30, 1915, aged 90 years, when 18 years old, in 1843, as Frances Hedges, taught in the high school, then housed in the town hall. The assistant principal was Miss Elizabeth Moseley, daughter of James, a brother of David Moseley. She was succeeded by Miss Lucy, daughter of Col. Silas Root, who afterward became the wife of Patrick Boise. She in turn was followed by Miss Susan Page of Boston.

Lucius F. Thayer attended, in 1847, what he speaks of as the "model school," perhaps related in some way to the normal school. A partition ran through the building from west to east, on one side of which was the normal and on the other the model school.

In that early high school the boys were taught for five months in winter and the girls six months in summer.

At the March meeting, 1842, it was ordered that the Selectmen should keep in repair the seats, door, plastering, etc., of the town hall.

In April, 1846, permission was given to the two military companies to use the hall for drill and exercise, the Union Guards to occupy it on Friday evenings and the Hampden Guards on Saturday evenings.

At the April meeting, 1855, it was voted to accept the report of a committee recommending that plans, specifications and estimates for a high school building be procured; and there was put into the hands of the Selectmen at the same time the matter of fitting up the lower rooms under the town hall for the use of the high school, and $1,000 were appropriated for that purpose. It was also voted that the town hire suitable teachers for it, which is most perplexing in view of the earlier votes.

Aug. 15, 1855. "Rooms for the accommodation of the High School will be in readiness in about a fortnight. This has been accomplished by removing the partition between the rooms under the Town Hall, placing light iron columns in its stead to support the building, and introducing 40 double and 20 single seats into this enlarged room. It is thought the school room and the recitation room adjoining will amply accommodate 100 pupils."

March 25, 1857. A communication speaks in highest terms of the examination of the high school.

It had been voted in 1844 that a room in the building should be furnished for the use of the Selectmen, in which to keep their books and papers. Further interest in that important matter was shown at the March meeting, 1851, when the Selectmen were "authorized to procure a Safe for the better preservation of the Town's Books & Papers." It is a pity that the safe was not enlarged with passing years, and that more diligent and faithful care has not been exercised by successive generations of town officials for the safety of documents of priceless value. Some of the oldest records have disappeared during the past thirty years. To the credit of the town, since the new and capacious vault has been in use,

a new spirit of interest and carefulness has marked those who are intrusted with these precious documents. That the basement was never actually used for high school purposes as proposed above is indicated by the fact that the following year the Selectmen were directed to furnish a lockup there.

Recurring to the caption of this Chapter, we may trace the subsequent history of the Press of Westfield through the period of almost a century which has run its course since the Hampden Register first issued from its types, in February, 1824.

In 1828-9, Emerson Davis, then principal of the Westfield Academy, published a periodical called The Scholar's Journal, devoted chiefly to educational interests, as its name indicates. Nearly two years after the discontinuance of the Westfield Register, Joseph Bull, Jr., began to publish The Westfield Journal. The first issue appeared Sept. 10, 1833, from its office in the Ives block, corner of Main and Broad Streets, the brick building which was recently removed to make room for the new post office building. In April, 1835, its name was changed to the Democratic Herald, still printed by Mr. Bull, but with N. T. Leonard as proprietor and under the editorial charge of N. T. Leonard and E. Davis. Temperance was given great prominence in its columns through the year of its continuance.

Another venture followed, The Talisman, April 9, 1836, edited by H. B. Smith, quarto in form and neutral in politics. Mr. Smith had served an apprenticeship as a printer and later became one of the town's most prominent, influential and successful business men. The Talisman was discontinued at the end of a few months. A file of it has been preserved in the possession of one of Mr. Smith's nephews, and recently presented to the Atheneum.

The Westfield Spectator, democratic in politics, was first issued by Calvin Torrey, in April, 1839. It was purchased in October, 1841, by Dr. William O. Bell, who changed its name two months later to the Woronoco Palladium. About two years later Mr. Torrey resumed proprietorship of it and changed its name to The Spectator without its original local prefix. Its life ended about a year later, as Holland says in his History of Western Massachusetts, "sending up as it sank,

several corruscations bearing the names of the Star and the Screamer." The same authority adds, "During the presidential campaign of 1840, the Westfield Courier was born. It was a small sheet issued by Collins & Davis, two lads 14 years old. After the issue of the fifth number, Davis bought out Collins and continued the paper nineteen weeks, sufficiently long to elect Harrison to the presidency. It was opposed by a campaign paper called The Jeffersonian, published by one Shipper, who had previously edited a Whig campaign paper in Springfield in regard to which the records fail. In July, 1841, the scholars of the Academy published the Repository, a paper which they continued for about three years."

Next appeared the Westfield Standard, in October, 1845, a democratic sheet published by Hiram A. Beebe. Having run for two years it was then discontinued for two weeks, to be revived by J. D. Bates, who sold out at the end of two years to William W. Whitman, who conducted it through the presidential campaign of 1848, and then gave it up to purchase the Troy Budget.

Joseph M. Ely then bought the Standard, and, with Asahel Bush and Henry C. Moseley as associate editors, conducted its publication for about three years. Mr. Moseley went to Washington Territory in the spring of 1852; Mr. Bush also moved west and took charge of the Oregon Statesman. In January, 1852, Gilbert W. Cobb purchased the Standard and succeeded Mr. Moseley in editorial control. The Standard survived until August, 1854, and October 7 the Wide Awake American was launched to promote the interests of the Know Nothing party, but it did not maintain a long career.

Elijah Porter began to publish the Westfield News Letter, Feb. 28, 1841, advocating the principles of the Whig party. He was joined in August, 1847, by Samuel H. Davis, a graduate of Williams College, son of Rev. Emerson Davis, a graduate and for many years, to the time of his death, vice-president of that institution. The young man, who had just then reached his majority, received his initiation into the mysteries of his profession seven years earlier as a schoolboy editor of the Westfield Courier, as already noted. The responsible position of editor in his native town was ably borne for a year, when he became assistant editor of the Springfield

Republican. Mr. J. G. Holland, from intimate acquaintance with him and his work, was moved to characterize him as "one of the most promising young editors in the Commonwealth." It was no small loss to the public to have the career of such a gifted young journalist cut off in the spring of 1849 by his premature death.

It is interesting to note the names of those who were conducting the mercantile affairs of the town at that period, the winter of 1847, and the kinds of merchandise in which they sought to interest the local public. A. G. Chadwick & Co., dry goods, fall and winter, oil, flour, soda biscuit, wagons, etc.; Joseph Sibley, gaiter boots and slips; Misses Parsons & Parker, dressmakers, north side of the Green; Rand & Johnson, wrapping paper; Samuel C. Smith, dry goods, crockery, shoes, etc., east side of the Green; Jared Hitchcock, boots and shoes, third door east of the post office; John F. Comstock, fashionable hairdresser, J. Taylor's building; Samuel B. Rice & Co.'s store on the bank of the canal, wholesale produce, groceries etc.; Lyman Lewis, hardware; John H. Starr, Jr., tailor, Jessup's building, west of the Park; William Hooker, Jr., flour. H. B. Smith kept a general store, including books and stationery, on the north side of the Green. Later he became interested in the foundry business which grew into one of the town's most extensive and successful industries with large plants on both sides of the river and which still bears his name. Its steam radiators are known and sold throughout the whole country.

An account of the laying of the cornerstone of Williston Seminary in Easthampton is found in the issue of June 23, 1841. Prayer was offered by President Humphrey of Amherst, and an address was made, and a prayer was offered by Rev. Emerson Davis.

In June the General Association of Congregational churches of Massachusetts met in Westfield with forty delegates present from District Associations, seven from foreign bodies, and twenty-five honorary members. Rev. Hiram Bingham and Rev. Mr. Tinker from the Sandwich Islands were among the speakers. The subject of slavery was warmly discussed. A previous meeting of the Association was held in town in 1812.

The Fourth of July was celebrated by a grand temperance rally of the Sabbath schools of the town, under their superintendents, Mr. Irving, Mr. Kneil, Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Parish. They marched with banners, badges and music by the Westfield brass band up Elm and Franklin Streets and encamped upon the river bank just below King's Meadow Riding Way. It was estimated that with spectators, 1,000 people were present. Called to order by Rev. E. Davis, they then sang "Be days of drinking wine forgot." Declaration of Independence read by Albert Rand, so paraphrased as to adapt it to a declaration of abstinence from the use of intoxicants. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Van Loon. Refreshments furnished by the ladies in great abundance, were then served. Temperance declamations by the following lads—J. Fowler, S. H. Davis, E. Jessup, John Boies, W. A. Noble, after each the band played. They then sang "Away the Bowl," reformed the procession, marched back to the park where they formed in a circle and sang "Cold Water Army." Similar observances of the day occurred in Springfield, Northampton and Hartford.

June 3, 1842. A public meeting was called at the office of William Blair, Esq., for organizing a rural cemetery. It was proposed to purchase a number of acres on Pine Hill, to form an association to have charge of the grounds, lay them out, beautify them, affix prices, perhaps from $1 up, and auction off privileges of choice. The association was duly formed and the town voted to purchase the land.

P. L. Buell, by becoming a partner of Elijah Porter in August, 1851, began his work as a local editor which he prosecuted for many years. A. T. Dewey was added to the firm in August, 1852, but maintained the connection only a year and a half. Mr. Buell in his later years was librarian of the Westfield Atheneum in its original home on Main Street.

The present writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Lyman N. Clark's article on "The Press of Westfield" in "Hampden County," published in 1902, for much information on the subject during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

He has much to say about the early issues of the Westfield News Letter and Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal, the double title of the new publication. It bore at the head

of the editorial column a banner bearing the motto, "Harrison and Better Times," proving that so long ago the promise of financial benefit to the people as a result of a change in the incumbent of the presidential chair was used to boost the interests of a campaign. The inaugural address of President Harrison was printed in full in the first issue.

An item stating that "Our paper is furnished from the mill of Cyrus W. Field and Co. of this town" is a reminder that the man was then operating a small mill on the road between Crane's upper mill and Mundale who afterward achieved an international reputation as the patient and courageous promoter of the first Atlantic cable. His venture in paper making proved to be so unremunerative that he was unable when leaving town to meet all his obligations, but the people of Westfield cherish with deep satisfaction the fact that when he finally won prosperity after a long struggle and many bitter disappointments he returned and paid in full every creditor, principal and interest. The town thus has reason to honor his memory and felicitate itself upon his having been for a time one of its citizens in active business.

Under the editorial charge of P. L. Buell, the News Letter was enlarged with the issue of Aug. 19, 1871, when the town had a population of about 6,000. Its motto was "Independence in all things, neutral in nothing." In December following, its ownership passed into the hands of Sherman Adams, who had served an apprenticeship on the paper two score years earlier. He adopted a new motto "For the people, with the people, and of the people." Increase of business resulted in an enlargement of the paper in August, 1872.

A rival publication appeared in March, 1869, when Clark and Carpenter began in Morand's Block on Elm Street to issue the Western Hampden Times. In April 11, 1870, its ownership passed to a new firm, Clark and Story, and in July, 1874, they were able to consolidate the rival papers, announcing the fact with the statement, "We cherish no feelings of exultation that a rival has fallen. It has simply been a graceful yielding to fate." The consolidated paper soon became a very important and influential factor in local life.

In August, 1875, Sherman Adams began to publish a small paper bearing the caption of the Woronoco Advertiser, later

changed to the Westfield Advertiser. After a modest existence of a few years it was discontinued and its owner moved to Florida where he died.

Quoting from the account in "Hampden County," "The Westfield Times and News Letter has been published for many years at No. 11 School St., its offices being located in the second and third stories of the Colton building. In December, 1897, the firm was changed, a corporation being formed under the name of the Clark and Story Company. On account of the death, Oct. 25, 1901, of Mr. Story, who for thirty years had had the business and mechanical management of the paper, the company was reorganized with L. N. Clark president and editor-in chief, L. N. Clark, Jr., clerk, treasurer and business manager, and Joseph C. Duport manager of the mechanical department and associate editor. The senior Mr. Clark commenced his newspaper career in the office of the Gazette and Courier in Greenfield, 50 years ago, when that paper was published by Phelps and Eastman. He has since served on the Hampshire Gazette, the Springfield Union, of which he was the first local editor, and the Berkshire County Eagle, coming from Pittsfield to Westfield, Jan. 1, 1869, to start the Western Hampden Times, afterward consolidated with the News Letter. The Times and News Letter, the oracle of the Woronoco Valley, which has long been an important factor in moulding public opinion in the community and numbers in its constituency people in nearly every State of the Union, starts auspiciously under its present management, and is going on from prospering to prosper."

Mr. Clark was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Press Association and active as a member or officer in many organizations, fraternal, historical and philanthropic, in the town which was his home during so large a portion of his long, industrious and useful career.

The Western Hampden Leader, organized and conducted by John W. Culver in 1906, issued its first number September 28 of that year and was finally suspended in 1910 after a career of four years. At first offices were established in the block at the corner of Main and Elm Streets. Later the paper was issued from the printing plant of the company on School Street, which was located in the building on the south side

of that busy thoroughfare at the westerly corner of the driveway leading from School Street to the Park Square livery stable, later the Park Square garage. This building was erected of the timbers and brick taken from the original structure on Main Street owned and occupied by the Westfield Atheneum. George H. Steele was the first editor of the Leader and John W. Culver was the business manager. Mr. Culver soon assumed the editorial management and the name of the paper was changed to the Hampden County Leader. Thomas C. Jones of Springfield bought the plant from Mr. Culver, but the paper did not prosper long and was discontinued in the fall of 1910.

The first issue of the Westfield Daily Journal appeared April 11, 1916, and the office was then in the block owned by Deputy Sheriff W. W. Hosmer on Park Square (Broad Street), just north of the First Congregational Church. John B. and Frank Lawton were the two men who started the Journal, and they remained in control until 1917 when Sturges Dorrance bought the controlling interest. Mr. Dorrance obtained a lease of the basement and first floor of the block on Elm Street, owned by Frank S. Dewey, and a modern equipment was installed. The location is opposite Chapel Street. Mr. Dorrance, owing to other business affairs, was unable to assume personal responsibility of the editing of the paper, and in February, 1918, engaged Henry E. Salandri of Boston, an experienced newspaper man, as the editor. The Journal occupied its Elm Street location in October, 1917.

It was on February 4, 1903, that the old blanket sheet form of the Times and News Letter was discarded for the more modern "make-up" with shorter columns. The veteran editor, Lyman N. Clark, feeling the weight of years and relying upon younger blood to assume the responsibility that had been his for so long a period, retired from active service October 14, 1903. George D. Roe, coming from a valuable experience in the newspaper game at Lakewood, N. J., bought an interest in the Clark & Story Co. He and Lyman N. Clark, Jr., became the editors and managers of the paper and Joseph C. Duport was continued for some time on the staff. This arrangement between Mr. Roe and the younger Mr. Clark continued until October 26, 1905, when Mr. Roe purchased

the control of the company. The junior Mr. Clark cast his lot in the far West, and in Nevada became eventually a newspaper owner and editor in Mark Twain's old town, Virginia City.

The last issue of the old Times and News Letter came from the press January 11, 1906, and the following week the name became the Westfield Times. The first of March of that year witnessed a most important change in the annals of newspaperdom of Westfield. The Home Newspaper Co., with Charles M. Gardner as publisher and Herbert S. Fuller as editor, was absorbed by the Westfield Times Co., the latter taking the place of the Clark & Story Co. Mr. Gardner retired from the newspaper profession for a time and came to be a state and national figure in the affairs of the Grange. Eventually his abilities as an organizer and writer caused him to be selected as the editor of the National Grange Monthly, which for a time was issued from Westfield. Editor Fuller became associated with Mr. Roe, and in April of 1906 the Weekly Times was suspended. On April 23 the initial issue of the Daily Times made its appearance, but this was continued only until July 6, 1907. In the meantime Mr. Fuller had gone to his reward.

During the time the Times was issued as a daily the Valley Echo was published by the Westfield Times Co as a weekly, and up to the time of this writing is still making its appearance from the plant on School Street. The editor, Mr. Roe, still continues the publication of the Huntington Herald and Chester Chronicle in connection with the Valley Echo.

Lyman N. Clark, whose long and honorable career as a newspaper publisher and editor in Western Massachusetts caused him to be known in all sections of the State, died on the morning of May 11, 1914.

Joseph C. Duport, possessing a rare sense of humor, ability as a writer and excellent taste as a printer, was the originator of a clever little monthly known as the North Star. This was issued from his shop on the "north side" of the river. In 1911 he began publishing a little monthly called the Calumet, and continued the same for several years. This was a bright, cheery publication, with originality and pithy sayings always in evidence. Joseph D. Cadle, who has for many years

conducted a printing office on Elm Street, was for 17 years prior to 1891, local correspondent of the Springfield Republican. Later he was for a few years with the Union. Mr. Cadle's style is vividly recalled by the readers of those papers, and his articles were always perused with interest.

Another Westfield citizen, Edward G. Clark, son of Lyman N. Clark, was a writer on the old Times and News Letter as a youth and later often assisted his father and brother in "getting out" the paper every Wednesday night. Mr. Clark was for a few months on the Springfield Union, but early in June, 1891, became local correspondent of the Springfield Republican. He filled this position for nearly 26 years, resigning in March, 1917. Since then he has devoted most of his time to his duties as probation officer of the district court of Western Hampden, but has not wholly relinquished his newspaper work, being local representative of the Boston Globe and Associated Press. The interests of the Springfield Union have been well cared for since December, 1912, by J. Chambers Dewey, son of Louis Marinus Dewey. Mr. Dewey was an assistant reporter from 1910 to the time he became a full fledged correspondent.

In considering the press of Westfield the High School Herald is deserving of mention. This paper had its origin back in 1887, and was first issued by the Psi Alpha Delta secret society. Later it was taken up by the Lyceum and became the official school paper, issued every month during the school year by a student staff of editors, ably supervised by a member of the teaching force.

CHAPTER IV

Westfield's Canal

The matter of transportation has ever been so vital to the welfare of a community as to be an essential condition of its prosperity. The most primitive method of conveying goods by means other than that of the human body is on the back of an animal. The next step is by the use of some vehicle drawn by an animal or by some form of vessel made to float on the water. The cheapness and efficiency of carriage by water are so much greater than animals afford that it has always been desirable to utilize it wherever possible.

Westfield having been naturally debarred from the benefit of such means of transportation by its distance from a navigable stream was readily responsive to a plan to connect it with tide water by means of an artificial canal.

An enterprise of such great interest and promise to the town received its first reference in the public records Dec. 2, 1822, when it was voted "That the Inhabitants of the Town of Westfield approve of the Petition of Samuel Hinckley and others praying for a Charter to make a Canal from Connecticut River through the Towns of Northampton, East Hampton, South Hampton, Westfield and Southwick to Connecticut Line to connect with the contemplated Canal running from New Haven Northwardly thro the State of Connecticut to the line of said Southwick in Massachusetts and the Inhabitants of said Westfield having had seasonable notice and considered the same, request that the subject may be acted upon definitely at the next session of the General Court in January next."

An earlier undertaking of that character was instituted in the latter part of the preceding century, which was very notable for that period. Holland speaks of it as "one of the most remarkable enterprises that had, at that day, been planned in America." It was no less than the construction of a canal around the falls at South Hadley, and another around Turner's Falls at Montague.

The Legislature, February 23, 1792, passed—"An act,

incorporating the Honorable John Worthington Esq. and others therein named, for the purpose of rendering Connecticut River passable for boats and other things, from the mouth of Chicopee River Northward throughout this Commonwealth, by the name of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Connecticut River." Among the twenty-two incorporators were Samuel Fowler of Westfield and Justin Ely of West Springfield.

The price of tolls was to be four shillings and sixpence for each ton of weight, and an equal amount for every thousand feet of boards, at South Hadley Falls, and at Montague a shilling more a ton and two shillings less for boards. The capacity of the locks was to be sufficient to permit the passage of a raft twenty feet wide and sixty feet long. This, owing to the great difficulties encountered, was afterward reduced to forty feet in length and sixteen feet in width.

The lower canal was cut two and a half miles long, much of the way through solid rock, in 1793, though the bed was not low enough to get as deep a channel as was needed. It was the first enterprise of the kind in the country though followed soon by others in different regions. The Turner's Falls work was completed in 1796. The engineer of the company was Benjamin Prescott of Northampton, afterward Superintendent of the Springfield Armory.

The expense of these two undertakings was great, and the difficulty of raising funds requisite therefor was so serious that an agent was sent to Holland to interest investors there, who met with considerable success though to their ultimate disappointment and loss.

In order to increase the flow of water through the artificial channel a dam was constructed diagonally part way across the river to divert the current.

The primitive and inadequate character of the locks and machinery employed in the lower canal proves the limited knowledge of such matters then extant, though soon afterward greatly enlarged. Holland's description of the process of getting craft through the cut, given with considerable detail, is interesting as a matter of local history.

"At the point where boats were to be lowered and elevated, was a long inclined plane, traversed by an immense car of the

width of the canal and of sufficient length to take in a boat or a section of a raft. At the top of this inclined plane, were two large water wheels, one on either side of the canal, which furnished, by the aid of the water of the canal, the power for elevating the car and for balancing and controlling it in its descent. At the foot of the inclined plane, the car descended into the water of the canal, becoming entirely submerged. A boat ascending the river, and passing into the canal, would be floated directly over and into the car, the brim of the latter, of course, being gauged to a water level by its elevation aft in proportion to the angle of inclination of the traverse way. The boat being secure in the car, the water was let upon the water wheels, which, by their common shaft, were attached to the car through two immense cables, and thus, winding the cables, the car was drawn up to a proper point, when the boat passed out into the canal above. The reverse of this operation, readily comprehended by the reader, transferred a boat, or the section of a raft, from above downwards." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 306.)

June 16, 1825. The General Court voted $600 to defray part of the expense of surveying the contemplated route of the canal from Northampton to the south end of the ponds in Southwick.

In the previous February three commissioners had been appointed to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston Harbor to the Connecticut River, with a view of continuing it to the Hudson River to connect with the Erie Canal, which was then almost completed.

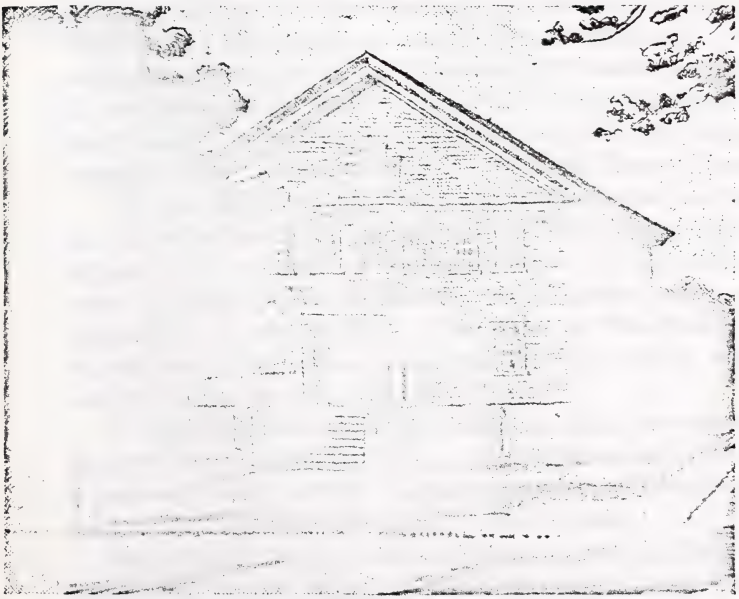
The following editorial notice appears in the issue of the Hampden Register of Mar. 22, 1826:

"The Farmington Canal project has for some time past excited very great interest among all classes of our citizens, and as its execution is progressing, we look forward to the close of another year with a full hope that it will be then completed, and that we shall begin to realize some few of the many advantages which it eventually must secure to all classes of our citizens, both in the city and country, to which most, it will be difficult to determine.

"It is now well settled that this canal will at all events be extended to Northampton, and there be connected with the Connecticut River, a distance of about eighty miles from tide water. Should this point terminate the enterprise for an

THE TOWN HALL.

In the background is shown the Bulfinch Meeting House after having been moved in 1860 to make room for the present building. It was destroyed by fire in 1890.



THE FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL MEETING HOUSE.

This stood on Main Street, corner of what is now Clinton Avenue, where the residence of Mr. Chester H. Abbe stands.

inland navigation on the north, still it will be the most splendid work of the kind in New England.

"But it should be constantly kept in mind that from Northampton, to the north line of the state of Vermont, in the valley of the Connecticut, the inland navigation is to be improved at all events. Two modes of effecting this object have been proposed: one, an artificial canal to be constructed the whole distance, the practicability of which, by the U. S. engineers, has been ascertained, and the other by erecting dams across the river at all necessary places, and by locking the falls and rapids. Which of these projects to improve the navigation is, or will be the best, it may, perhaps at this time, be difficult to decide; nor is it necessary to spend much time on this topic, as the whole subject has been, or will be laid before the Massachusetts and Vermont Legislatures. Doubtless the best mode of deliberation will be established. It is the fact that we wish to establish that the whole valley of the Connecticut is to be, and unquestionably will be, made navigable in a short period of time—this is certain beyond a reasonable doubt.

"Nor is this all; the Governor of the Lower Province of Canada, in a late speech in the Provincial Parliament, recommended in strong terms, and for powerful reasons, to improve the navigation of the River St. Francis. Should this be effected, their inland navigation from Montreal and Quebec would be brought within a short distance of the north line of Vermont.

"On the whole, we may rest satisfied that the time is not far distant when the boatmen of New Haven may land their cargoes on the shores of the great River St. Lawrence, and when in return those of Montreal and Quebec may present themselves in our harbor. [The Port of Westfield.] This stupendous work, when completed, will in extent compare very well with the New York Erie Canal."

In the same issue there is a communication respecting the proposed canal from New Haven to Northampton, containing a prophecy that "it will be the most splendid work of the kind in the New England States"—all in italics.

Elijah Bates also publishes a report of the meeting of the corporation of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal the preceding week in Southampton. The books were to be kept open

until 2,900 shares should have been subscribed for. About 1,800 shares were then taken up, and the remainder were to be divided among the towns to be benefited—Northampton, Easthampton, Southampton, Westfield and Southwick. The Westfield subscription books were to be opened at the house of Maj. A. Morgan under the direction of Elijah Bates. That is the only item of local news in that issue.

In the Hampden Register it was stated Dec. 6, 1826, that "The excavation on the northern part of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal was commenced in Northampton on Monday week, and it is stated that the work will be prosecuted in favorable situations during most of the winter.

"Several sections between this village and the state line have been let to contractors and the excavation commenced about a week ago.

"The construction of the North or Great river feeder is contracted for, the excavation of which commenced yesterday afternoon. We understand there are about two hundred men to be employed on this part of the work."

Great controversies with bitterness and invectives were carried on in the papers over the respective Canal and River improvement schemes.

Feb. 21, 1827. A Committee of the House on the respective merits of River and Canal reported, rather favoring the latter. Estimate of expense of improving the river from Hartford to Barnet, Vt., 219 miles—$1,071,000.

The canal was an enterprise showing broad and enlightened public spirit. The matter of transportation was as vital then as it is now to the interests of the community, because the essential dependence of profit in farming and manufacturing enterprises. When there were no railway facilities, and the highways were but little better than the primitive cart-paths, there was the more urgent need of such benefits as a canal promised in conveying merchandise from point to point in the interior regions, and to tide water for wider distribution.

When the first excavation for the canal was made near the State line in Southwick, Nov. 1, 1826, it was witnessed by a party of gentlemen from Westfield who were deeply impressed by the event which seemed to give assurance of such immense advantage to the town and the region.

It is an interesting fact that the original copy in manuscript of the contract for the construction of the Massachusetts section of the canal is among the papers of the late Hon. James Fowler still in possession of his grandchildren, Mr. Samuel J. Fowler and Miss Frances Fowler of Cambridge. It covers twelve pages folio closely written, beginning with the following paragraph:

"This agreement made and concluded this thirtieth day of September A.D. 1826 by and between Thomas Sheldon of Westfield in the County of Hampden and State of Massachusetts, and Jarvis Hurd of Royalton in the County of Niagara and State of New York of the one part, and the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company by their President and Directors of the other part—

Witnesseth"

In Article I the contractors agree to make and construct all that part of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal with its Feeders from the termination of the Farmington Canal on the north side of Connecticut to the end of Section No. 30 in the survey of Jarvis Hurd, Esq., which survey forms part of the formal contract. That carried it to the line between Westfield and Southampton.

In Article II they agree to construct all the locks needed in that section, in the same manner as those on the Farmington Canal are built.

In Article III they make a similar agreement in regard to aqueducts, the abutments and piers to be of stone laid in water lime and secured by piling, the trunk, or tank reaching across a stream, being of wood, all to be like the aqueduct across the Farmington River.

Article IV concerns culverts, to be made of stone, the arches puddled with clay, and the flooring to be of hewn timber or plank.

In Article V they agree to construct all bridges for the main canal and all feeders, necessary for the accommodation of public roads and farms, with approaching embankments.

In Article VI they agree to make all excavations, embankments and towing paths, and do all things necessary to construct a canal according to annexed specifications.

In Article VII they promise to "pay all damages which

shall be assessed on the whole of said Canal from the north line of Connecticut to the entrance of the same into the Connecticut River in Northampton in the County of Hampshire in the State of Massachusetts, for lands, water privileges, mills, and for any other injury which may arise from the making and constructing said Canal and the necessary feeders." They are also to pay the salary of the Chief Engineer, Jarvis Hurd, Esquire, and all other salaried officers and all employees of every sort. They are to construct all waste weirs and fences and meet all contingent expenses of every sort.

According to the survey of Jarvis Hurd, the first section of forty chains began at the State line near Manatic mountain and extended over a ridge of land for the first sixteen chains requiring a cutting averaging twelve feet. "This section crosses the principal stream or inlet to Southwick or Congamon's ponds and passes along a high ridge of land dividing it from the ponds. It is not certain, however, that the ponds might not be used as a canal by constructing a towing path along the west bank, which is for further examination to determine." That original plan followed about the present course of the New Haven and Northampton Railroad. The plan through the ponds was adopted.

The first plan also proposed entering the Westfield valley by a cutting through the ridge of the plateau just west of where the railroad now enters it. It would have descended into Hundred Acre swamp by seventy-six feet of double lockage. That plan is also questioned in the report of the survey and a change was finally made whereby the canal was brought through Little River, and around the base of the hill where the old Indian Trading House stood before the middle of the seventeenth century, continuing along under the base of "W" hill and nearly to the present railroad cutting before turning north to cross Little River and pass through the village of Westfield. It was proposed to cross Little River by a dam, with a guard lock on each side and the river banks diked above to prevent injury to the canal by overflowing of the banks in time of flood. It was decided later to construct an aqueduct.

The first lock north of the village was built after crossing Sacket's brook, and had a lift of seven feet. Ascending the valley of arm brook three locks, with an ascent of twenty-

three feet, were required. In the next section running up the west branch of arm brook, four locks were necessary with a lift of thirty-eight feet.

In the following section, ascending twenty feet by two locks, the summit level was reached, on which is Timber swamp.

Before crossing Manhan River by an aqueduct there was a lock for a descent of ten feet, and not far beyond it was a descent of thirty feet made by three locks.

In the section crossing the line between Southampton and Easthampton there was a descent of thirty-six feet into the valley of the north Manhan, the stream being crossed by an aqueduct sixty feet long. The final section, No. Sixty-one, "is very eligibly located with a view of extending the canal to the north, and terminates on the bank of the Connecticut River, north of Slough hill, at or near what is called the Honey pot or Great bend. At this place will be required, to intersect the canal with the river, forty-eight feet of lockage."

The great feeder which began above Salmon Falls, at what is now called Woronoco, and ran around the base of Mount Tekoa, is said to have been six miles long. It was estimated that the amount of water passing in Westfield River at that point, based upon calculations made "at a reasonably low time of water," was twelve thousand cubic feet a minute. The feeder was large enough to float boats to the foot of Tekoa. The lower feeder from Little River came in south of the village.

All trees, logs, stumps, bushes, roots and timber of every kind were to be removed along a section of twenty-nine feet from the middle of the canal. The canal was to be constructed with banks so sloped as to make the water twenty feet wide at the bottom and thirty-four or thirty-six feet wide at the surface. All banks were to be ten feet higher than the bottom of the canal.

The towing paths were to be at least ten feet wide on the surface, never less than two, nor more than five, feet above the water line.

The bank opposite the towing path was to be at least seven feet wide on the surface and at least two feet perpendicular measurement above the top water line.

Bound with the document by a homemade process and

as a part of its obligations, is a printed report of thirty-six pages made by Jarvis Hurd and submitted to Messrs. Thomas Shepard, Elijah Bates, Augustus Collins and John Mills, "composing the Executive Committee of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Corporation," dated Northampton, April 3, 1826.

The particular interest of this report is due to the fact that it describes in such careful detail the whole route of the proposed canal with all its feeders, culverts, locks, aqueducts, etc., from the State line to the point in the Connecticut River called "Honey Pot or Great Bend" about two miles above Northampton.

The valley of Westfield presented the greatest engineering difficulty with seventy-six feet of double lockage on the south and eighty-eight feet of single lockage on the north at Timber swamp. Thence to the river level at Northampton there was required one hundred and thirty-four feet of lockage. The maximum change of level secured by a lock seems to have been ten feet. There were nine locks between Southwick and Westfield. The total estimated cost of Mr. Hurd was $290,000.00. The contract price agreed upon by the Directors and Mr. Hurd and Mr. Sheldon was $138,969.52 together with 731 shares of the capital stock of the company for which they subscribed.

May 30, 1827. "*Public Dinner*

"Agreeably to public expectation, his Excellency Governor Clinton [of New York] and suite arrived in this village on Wednesday afternoon of last week on his tour to examine the line of the projected Canal from Northampton to Barnet. He was previously met on the State line by the Committee named in our last, and a number of Gentlemen who volunteered their services for the occasion, when the following address was delivered by the Hon. James Fowler, Chairman of the Committee, and the reply accompanying given. After the introductory ceremonies of his reception were concluded, the cavalcade proceeded to the Village where his Excellency's appearance was greeted by the ringing of bells and a national salute."

The committee as named consisted of Hon. J. Fowler, Hon.

John Mills, Jesse Farnum, David H. Merwin, Elijah Bates, Esquire, Col. Enos Foote and Col. Isaac Welles.

Mr. Fowler's address eulogized Governor Clinton as the successful promoter of the Erie Canal recently opened, expressing "our full conviction that among all the eminent Patriots and Statesmen which it has been the felicity of America to produce, there is no one of them to whom the friends of Canal Navigation, and the great mass of the community who are reaping such benefits from it, are more indebted than to him whom we have now the honor of addressing."

The Governor made a fitting reply congratulating the people hereabouts upon the opportunity afforded them by nature to carry to success their enterprise and upon the spirit with which they were prosecuting it.

"About six o'clock the Governor sat down to an excellent dinner prepared by Mr. S. Allis, in company with a large number of citizens and strangers. After the removal of the cloth the following toasts were drunk to, accompanied by the discharge of cannon: The President of the United States; the Governor of this Commonwealth; the State of New York; the United States; the History of the Present Age; Enterprise; Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacture; Art; True Popularity; Public Opinion; Our Country; Internal Improvement; Our Distinguished Guest. His Excellency rose, and after tendering his cordial thanks for the kind and flattering reception given him on his entrance into the State, proposed The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: May all her great energies be directed to the improvement of her cardinal interests.

"On Thursday morning after examining the line of the canal through the village, His Excellency took his leave and proceeded to Northampton, where we understand the citizens testified their respect and esteem by suitable demonstrations."

In July following, it was declared that "this great and useful enterprise is rapidly progressing in this vicinity, and some portions of it are already completed and others in a good state of forwardness. The two aqueducts in our village, one of which is 330 and the other 300 feet in length, are going on with astonishing rapidity, and afford striking evidence of the almost unnatural triumph of art over nature. The number

of workmen employed is about 150, exclusive of about forty teams."

Two months later an interesting item appears: "Something New. For the gratification of the curious and the satisfaction of the enquiring, we give notice that the new floating bridge of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal which includes Southwick Ponds, and intended for a towing path across the same, will be launched to-day, precisely at 11 o'clock a.m. This is something quite novel for this vicinity, and we presume will attract a large collection of people. The bridge is upward of 700 feet long, and the distance from the spot on which it is built to the place it is destined to occupy is about one mile. We learn that the launching is to be accompanied with music and the discharge of artillery."

This curious expedient was doubtless intended to cut off a certain circuit of the regular shore line of the pond, either to economize distance, or because of the nature of the shore line. It probably led to a cutting still extant on the western bank, saving some distance which would have been involved in going around a long point projecting toward the east.

July 15. 1829. "The water from Sackets brook, a small stream north of this village, was let into the Canal last Friday." A long editorial notice tells of "the completion of the canal from New Haven to Simsbury, within five miles of the great culvert at Granby, which has been twice washed away and is being rapidly rebuilt. The aqueducts across the rivers in this valley were completed last fall. It is expected soon to have the canal completed, with the building of a few bridges and the finishing of the locks north of the village. Great quantities of produce are stored all along its upper course awaiting transportation and extensive warehouses are being built. Already sixteen boats are plying regularly between New Haven and Simsbury, and double the number could find employment. The day of doubts and fears that it never would be completed is now passed away,—and it is satisfactorily ascertained that a canal *may be made to hold water even in a sandy soil.*"

A sensational event in the tedious history of the great undertaking is chronicled Oct. 7, 1829. "On Monday last, the new canal boat 'Sachem' of Granby, came up to the locks opposite Southwick village, and within five miles of the

Basin [Westfield Harbor], in our village, having on board upwards of 150 passengers, accompanied by a band of music. The 'Sachem' departed yesterday on her first voyage to New Haven, with freight and passengers." More thrilling was an event of a month later, Nov. 11, 1829.

"FIRST LOCAL BOAT

The new canal boat 'General Sheldon' built and owned by Mr. Z. Bosworth, an enterprising citizen of this town, was launched into the Basin in this village. The boat slid into the water in fine style amidst the cheers and acclamations of a large concourse of citizens and a number of strangers which the novelty of the occasion had drawn together. The boat, with about two hundred and fifty on board was floated to the North Basin, when, after giving three hearty cheers, to the prosperity of the canal, and the success of internal improvements, they returned."

Under the heading "First Cruise from the Port of Westfield" the following account was given: Dec. 9, 1829. "Canal Excursion. The Canal boat 'General Sheldon' left this village on Thursday last on her first voyage to New Haven. Owing to the danger apprehended from suddenly letting the water upon new banks, it was delayed within the limits of the town until the evening, when it again proceeded on its course and arrived at Granby at 12 o'clock that night. The crew took supper, or rather breakfast at 1 o'clock, and after a short sleep and another breakfast, recommenced their voyage, passed Farmington at evening, and arrived at Hillhouse's Basin in New Haven, at half past ten o'clock. They were received at Weataug and at Farmington with the discharge of cannon. The boat took in her cargo on Saturday afternoon and arrived at Westfield on her return on Monday evening. The cargo consisted of coal, salt, molasses, oranges, codfish, flour, &c."

It was thus more than two years after the enthusiastic reception of the Governor of the Empire State before the weary operations of digging and filling were so far completed as to allow the inauguration of traffic on the artificial waterway. The basin was situated just south of Main Street and east of the H. B. Smith Company's foundry, now filled by the railway embankment. A portion of it was left, with a stretch

of the old canal running south to Silver Street until the tracks were raised a dozen or more years ago. When covered with ice it furnished fine sport for merry crowds of skaters on many a day and many a moonlight night.

Sept. 2: "The New Haven Chronicle says that the elegant Canal packet boat, New England, will for the purpose of accommodating Commencement passengers, leave Farmington the Tuesday before Commencement which takes place on Wednesday the 9th inst."

Among the announcements, headed by a picture of a canal boat drawn by two horses tandem, under the caption "Cleared" are these items:

Apr. 21: "Canal Boat Gen. Sheldon, for New Haven, with merchandise &c. to A. Whitney & Co. Geneva, N. Y., and passengers." Same day, "Boat Warranoco for do. deeply laden with freight and passengers."

Apr. 26: "Arrived. Boat Gen. Sheldon, from New Haven, with passengers, also Dry Goods, Groceries, Iron &c to merchants in Northampton and Westfield."

Apr. 27: "Boat Warronoco from N. Haven with goods to merchants in this village."

Thus Westfield became a seaport with free access to many harbors in different states.

May 19. "By an Advertisement in to-day's paper it will be seen that the Canal Boat Gen. Sheldon will in future make two trips a week between this place and New Haven.—The Boat went down and returned twice last week, taking each time but little more than twenty-four hours in passing through the whole route. This arrangement combining speed with regularity, we have no doubt will secure to the proprietor a full supply of business. The Capt. of the Boat, Mr. Barton, is an experienced and judicious manager, attentive and accommodating to his passengers, and we believe in every respect is well calculated for the business in which he is engaged."

May 26. Advertisement: "Canal Boat Excursion. Samuel P. Woolworth would inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Village and vicinity that his boat will make a trip to the Ponds this morning and he will be happy to accommodate passengers."

The route of the canal through the town is pretty well

known by people who have been residents for many years. It came down across the plains from the north. The house occupied by the keeper of the lock a couple of miles north of the river is still standing, and is known as "the old lock house." An important feeder ran from "Salmon Falls" around the base of Mount Tekoa, across the plain eastward crossing the road to Montgomery near what has long been known as the "Simmons place." An aqueduct spanned the Westfield river just about where the New Haven & Northampton railroad bridge now stands. Another one spanned the Little river near that railway's bridge south of the town. Thence the course of the canal was easterly along the base of the bluff past "W" hill and down through the present hamlet of Little River.

Westfield Register, Oct. 6, 1830: "Annual meeting of stockholders of Hampden Bank, Oct. 4; directors elected, James Fowler, Abner Post, Augustus Collins, Ira Yeamans, Jonathan Taylor, Augustus E. Jessup, Orrin Sage, Charles Douglas, Job Clark; James Fowler elected president."

December 22: "Amount of goods to and from this village, Oct. 18 to Dec. 18, eight weeks.

Articles	*Weight*
3279 Hides	171,460
1990 bu. Salt	153,150
2136 " Wheat	128,166
23 tons Gypsum	51,520
914 bbls. Flour	197,532
Cheese	95,497
Merchandize	177,214
13 Cords Wood	40,500
Charcoal	18,720
Hemp	7,650
31,597 feet Lumber	63,194
Leather	7,600
Other Agri. Products	73,200
	lbs. 1,185,403
	nearly 600 tons"

The opening of the canal to Northampton in 1835 was an event of great significance and promise to this region. It

was celebrated with considerable pomp and immense enthusiasm. The Democratic Herald, which succeeded the Westfield Journal with N. T. Leonard as proprietor and editor, March 31, 1835, in its issue of July 28 following, furnishes a long account of the proceedings, from which extracts are here presented.

"Canal Celebration. The delegation from the city of New Haven on their way to Northampton, arrived at this village on Tuesday of last week. On their arrival at the Basin [on Main Street, just east of the H. B. Smith Co. foundry buildings, filled in when the N. Y. & N. H. tracks were raised] they were saluted by peals of artillery, ringing of bells and the acclamations of our citizens. A procession was formed and conducted them to the Coffee House of Mr. Parsons, where the Hon. James Fowler in behalf of the citizens of this place bade them welcome. On Wednesday they left for Northampton having been joined here and on their way by a number of gentlemen from this town. It was expected the boat would reach Northampton at 10 o'clock a.m. but on arriving at Southampton it was found that some mean, low spirited puppy, having nothing of manhood about him except intelligence enough to guide his malice, had let off the water from a half mile level. This obstacle being overcome by waiting the arrival of the water, the boat with its cabin filled and its deck covered with passengers, and drawn by five horses passing through Easthampton, was met by a boat at the South basin in Northampton when the following address was made by Mr. Bancroft of Northampton."

That was George Bancroft, then 35 years old, who became so famous as a historian. The first volume of his notable History of the United States had been published during the previous year.

A fitting reply was made by Mayor Flagg of New Haven. The account proceeds: "After these addresses the boats moved towards the river and on passing the Mansion House, in the balconies, the beauty and fashion of Northampton there congregated were cheered by the assembled multitude on board the boats. The boat did not pass through the locks into the river until the next day, as was originally contemplated. The citizens of Northampton accompanied by a large number of invited guests and escorted by the military under Gen. Moseley,

proceeded to the new building near the Mansion House where a fine collation was in waiting. Hon. I. C. Bates, assisted by Messrs. Bancroft, Hinckley, Napier and Thompson presided at the table."

"Many toasts were presented at table, among them 'The late President Dwight. His memory is a bond of union between New Haven and Northampton, his life was a blessing to his country, and his writings are a bequest to mankind.' 'Farmington and Westfield and all the Towns and fields upon the line of the Canal; they embroider it with beauty, and freight it with treasure, we pledge them.' By George Bancroft, 'Edwards, Pomeroy and Hawley, the glory of Northampton in science, in the field, in public law; their memory is imperishable as the annals of freedom.' The following were offered by citizens of Westfield: By Hon James Fowler, 'The spirit of gratitude which pervades all hearts on this occasion; the best dividend the stockholders can receive, an ample remuneration for all the care and toil which the projectors of the canal have experienced from its commencement.' By N. T. Leonard, 'Among all the other products of the Canal may we have a fair share of the steady habits of Connecticut.' By Dr. J. Abbot, 'The construction of the Farmington, Hampshire and Hampden Canal, effected by the combined influence of monopolies, workingmen and merchants; It has nothing to fear but from the enemies of its *banks*.' By W. G. Bates, 'Samuel Hinckley, a true Yankee who has paid out the *most* money for the *best* ends.' "

Thursday morning, July 30. "This morning the boat Northampton went again down to the locks in fine style and passed through the locks to the Connecticut river. At last the boat which had left Hillhouse basin on Monday floated on the bosom of the Connecticut. The scene was one of joy and gladness. Who did not envy the emotions of the venerable Hinckley, the worthy and active Goodrich, the cheerful and indefatigable Farnum? A salute was fired, the air echoed with cheerings: the band played its liveliest tunes in its happiest manner: the waters of the Sound were poured into our river: the union between New Haven Harbor and the Upper Connecticut was declared to be perpetual. May it be productive of the happiest results."

The Congamond lakes in Southwick were utilized as far as available, a channel having been cut to join the north and the middle one.

For a few years the waterway in which such large sums of money had been invested and upon which such extravagant hopes of commercial prosperity had been built maintained an increasingly precarious existence, with a desperate purpose on the part of its administrators to stop its leaks and keep its embankments from slumping to lower levels. But its practical value was never firmly established nor was it ever a financial success.

Plans for a more rapid and efficient system of transportation were being considered and matured, though the boldest minds at that period had but small concepts of what was to be matured in the progress of coming years.

The engineering difficulties which beset the effort to convey the canal across the river without loss of the fluid upon which navigation depended were grievous. Whether the long tank, for it was practically that, in the early days fulfilled its mission perfectly is not certain, but later at any rate it proved to be but a leaky vessel, according to a statement in a local journal:

"For a long time after navigation had ceased this aqueduct spanned the river, neglected and going to decay, and many leaks of varying sizes in its plank bottom sent streams of water into the stream below, where the boys, so our 'old inhabitant' says, used to stand under the streams enjoying the primitive but satisfactory shower bath."

At several points in the town, as well as elsewhere along its route, it was crossed by bridges for the accommodation of those who desired to cross it on foot or in a vehicle; these were raised by a rude windlass for the passage of boats, a process of unflagging interest to the children.

For several years the waterway which was so valuable when passable, was subject to varying vicissitudes, while nervously watched by stockholders and a hardly less interested public.

May 26, 1841. "Our canal basin presented a truly interesting sight on Monday morning when we counted three or four boats deeply laden. The canal fully answers the anticipation of its friends."

There was actual union of canal and river traffic to some extent, the Northampton Gazette being authority for the statement that two river boats had recently lain at the side of the canal stores, loaded with salt for the return trip, having exchanged for it stores brought down from the north.

In summing up the business for September and October reports showed that 82 boats had been in the basin during that period, including, of course, those ending their trips there and those stopping en route north and south. The passenger fare at that time was $2.50 from Northampton to New Haven, and from Westfield $2.25. Whether or not that included berths and meals is not stated. Boats "handsomely fitted up" were advertised.

The trip along the canal through the country must have been very comfortable for people who had never dreamed of a parlor car, and who were in no nervous haste to reach their destination. They had never conceived of any faster mode of travel except by relays of horses, over roads which made speed bone-racking.

One of the serious disasters to the canal occurred early in February, 1835, when torrential rains caused serious breaks and resulting damage.

The efforts to maintain a navigable canal proved so difficult that the whole project finally came to be considered desperate. Floods and muskrats destroyed its banks; decay weakened the timbers of locks, aqueducts and bridges. The expense of its upkeep absorbed the revenues, leaving the stockholders impoverished, and finally they became hopeless of profit from the enterprise.

On Feb. 28, 1849, there is a report of a meeting in the interest of the Canal Railroad which belongs in another chapter.

Hope for the better means of transportation was some comfort in the disappointment which resulted from the failure of the waterway. It was to utilize largely the grading done for the earlier enterprise. The transportation of heavy freight and passengers on the Connecticut river was maintained long after the ill-fated canal was abandoned.

A directory of Hartford published in 1848 by E. Wells contains an advertisement of a steam freight boat to run "regularly almost any day," touching at various ports, Spring-

field, Hadley, Greenfield, Brattleboro, Windsor, and Hinsdale, N. H., incredible as it now appears. A Hartford paper concluded that the craft must have been of the same type as those on the Ohio which could almost cruise on a heavy dew.

The Springfield Republican of April 24, 1910, in an article on those early navigation facilities, says: "Some of these old Connecticut river boats still exist in old writings. The most famous, of course, was the Agawam in which Charles Dickens made a trip from this city to Hartford, while on his American tour in 1842. As late as 1886 the captain of the Agawam told recollections of this trip and about the 'fussy dude,' as he characterized Dickens. This captain, B. M. Douglass, said he never could bear to read stories by Dickens because of the prejudice which the great author stirred in him by his fuss and fears. The novelist is said by the captain to have feared the breaking of the gang plank and to have stuck his head out the window lest the boat should run into something and to have worried those on board with his concern for his baggage and his own safety. The river was so high that the smoke stack had to be lowered going under the Enfield Bridge, much to the alarm of Dickens. Perhaps his alarm was not entirely unreasonable if one accept the description of the boat as he gives it in his 'American Notes.' He wrote:

" 'The roads were so bad that the journey would have taken 10 or 12 hours. Fortunately, however, the winter having been unusually mild the Connecticut river was "open." The captain of a small steamboat was going to make his first trip for the season that day (the second February trip, I believe, in the memory of man) * * It certainly was not called a small steamboat without reason. I omitted to ask the question, but I think it must have been about half-a-pony power. The Paap, the celebrated dwarf, might have lived and died happily in the cabin, which was fitted with common sash windows like an ordinary dwelling house. These windows had bright red curtains, too, slack strings across the lower panes, so that it looked like the parlor of a lilliputian public house, which had got afloat in a flood or some other water accident and was drifting nobody knew where. But even in this chamber there was a rocking chair * * I am afraid to tell how many feet short this vessel was, or how many feet narrow; to apply the

words length and width to such measurement would be a contradiction of terms. But we all kept to the middle of the deck lest the load should tip over; and the machinery by some surprising process of condensation worked between it and the keel; the whole forming a warm sandwich about three feet thick.'

"But he admits 'we moved on dexterously, and, being well wrapped up, bade defiance to the weather and enjoyed the journey.' The trip down river used to take 2½ hours, and that upstream three hours. The steamboat lines were started about 1833, the canal at Windsor Locks having been built in 1829–30. The boat business was at its best between 1840 and 1844. Then the Southern railroad was put through, and the company bought the river lines and got bonds from the former owners 'not to start other lines to compete with the railroad.' "

CHAPTER V.

The Coming of the Railroads

The problem of cheap transportation for freight and passengers could be solved in early days along the lines of navigable streams, and, where feasible to construct them, by artificial canals. The failure to make the waterway between Northampton and New Haven practicable after such extensive expenditure of money had been devoted to its installation, was a grievous disappointment to the region which it traversed.

Where neither natural nor artificial waterways were available the people had to depend for the transportation of themselves and their goods upon pack animals and wheeled vehicles. Public stage coaches were introduced in England before the middle of the eighteenth century, rude, clumsy, discomforting affairs, later improved upon in general plan and detail, until the evolutionary process resulted in the French diligence, and what was known in this country as the Concord coach.

In 1773 a line of "Mail Stage Carriages" was run between Boston and Providence by one Thomas Beals. Such regular means of transportation of passengers must have been established between Boston and Springfield at an earlier period, since the Rev. John Ballantine made an entry in his Diary under date of June 7, 1772, as follows:

"My son William returned in a Stage Coach, fare 33/ to Springfield [from Boston] hired horse from Springfield."

In 1797 a poster still extant advertises three through lines of Stages running respectively to Philadelphia, called "The Federal Line," to Albany, and to Bennington, Vermont. The first named reached its destination early on the day after starting and ran daily. The fare was four dollars. The other two lines, running three times a week, reached their destinations on the fourth day after starting, charging seven dollars for each passenger.

A description of the early vehicle is quoted from Mr. Jansen's book, "The Stranger in America," by Alice Morse Earle

in her interesting work "Stage Coach and Tavern Days." The author's sojourn in this country extended from 1793 to 1806.

"The vehicle, the American stage-coach, which is of like construction through the country, is calculated to hold twelve persons, who sit on benches placed across with their faces toward the horses. The front seat holds three, one of whom is the driver. As there are no doors at the sides, the passengers get in over the front wheels. The first get seats behind the rest, the most esteemed seat because you can rest your shaken frame against the back part of the wagon. Women are generally indulged with it; and it is laughable to see them crawling to this seat. If they happen to be late, they have to straddle over the men seated farther in front." (P. 263.)

In 1829 a certain English Captain rode west by stage over what is generally the present route of the Boston and Albany railroad. He describes the hills, streams and ravines and concludes, "These Yankees talk of constructing a Rail Road over this route, as a practical engineer I pronounce it simply impossible."

Earlier, in 1827, the Boston Courier said editorially, "The project of a Railroad from Boston to Albany is impracticable as every one knows who knows the simplest rules of arithmetic. The expense would be little less than the market value of the whole territory of Massachusetts, and even if practicable, every person of common sense knows that it would be as useless as a railroad from Boston to the moon."

That was written only fourteen years before the road was actually opened for traffic.

"Westfield Register. Jan. 28, 1829.

"Report of a preliminary survey of the proposed railroad from Boston to the Hudson River, 198 miles. Estimated cost, $16,434.17 a mile—$3,254,876.46. Expense of transport by stationary powers $1.59 per mile, without them $1.97. Estimated that it could be made cheaper than by sloop."

"The transportation of passengers is also made the subject of some calculations and the results are satisfactory. On the whole the report exhibits considerations and results as favourable as could have been anticipated, and such as ought to urge every friend to the great interests of our Com-

monwealth to give the great undertaking such encouragement as shall ensure not only its commencement but its ultimate success."

The business of transportation by stage coach had been thoroughly systematized and brought to a high degree of efficiency before the railroads were built, but wherever they became established the earlier and slower mode of travel was discarded.

There were thoughtful, intelligent and far-seeing men in Massachusetts who began to move very early in advocating a line of railroad to run across it from border to border and connect Boston with the capital of the Empire State.

A very rare and interesting book, once the property of D. L. Harris, President of the Connecticut River Railroad, came into possession of Charles D. Reid of Springfield, who made a special study of early transportation problems in New England. The old volume bears upon its title page the following:

"Report of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements of the State of Massachusetts on the Practicability of a Rail-Road from Boston to the Hudson River, and from Boston to Providence, submitted to the General Court, Jan. 16, 1829. To which are annexed The Reports of the Engineers, containing the results of their surveys, and estimates of the cost of constructing a Rail-Road on each of the routes selected, with Plans and Profiles of the Routes."

Bound with that report is another for several succeeding years respectively, until 1840.

The plan as originally proposed was so crude and in such striking contrast with present conditions, the fruit of more than fourscore years of development, as to seem highly ridiculous though the germ of it all was in the minds of those early progressives.

After a few opening sentences the report proceeds, attempting to show what kind of a roadway would be best adapted to the existing needs and conditions—"The most approved Rail Roads in Great Britain are formed of solid bars of wrought iron, rolled into a form best suited to give them strength, and presenting on the upper edge, which is slightly rounded, a thickness of two and a quarter inches,

forming a surface of that width on which the carriage wheels run. The rails thus formed, of the requisite strength, weigh 35 lbs. each to the running yard. They are confined in their places, and supported at every yard of distance, by cast iron *chairs*, which are bolted to a foundation stone, and are formed with a nitch or groove, in which the rails are inserted and confined by an iron bolt.

"The high cost of iron in this country, and the great abundance and cheapness of fine granite in this vicinity, and on the line of the proposed railroads, strongly recommend the adoption of rails of a different form. In this climate it is necessary that the foundations for the rails, of whatever material they are formed, should be laid below the reach of frost. It is found that the cost of a continuous stone wall, laid so deep in the ground as not to be moved by the effects of frost, and surmounted by a rail of split granite of about a foot in thickness and depth, with a bar of iron placed on the top of it, of sufficient thickness to form the track on which the carriage wheels shall run, is much less than that of the English iron rail, and that the rails of this construction, so far as can be judged from experiments which have yet been made, possess all the advantages of solidity, durability, and strength. For the proper adjustment of the bar of iron, and to give proper play to the flanges of the wheels, it is necessary that the upper surface of the granite rail, and also the upper edge of the inner face, should be hammered and the bar must be attached to the rail, by the means of bolts or rivets, at distances of about a foot from one another. The pair of rails thus placed, at the uniform distance of five feet from each other, as nearly horizontal as possible, with the space between them filled to within six inches of the upper surface with earth and gravel, so as to form a path for the horses employed in drawing the carriages, constitute the Rail Road.

"It is a simple structure, and its advantages are so manifest, that it is remarkable that it has not been sooner introduced, into extensive use. The advantage which it possesses for giving an easy motion to heavily loaded carriages, arises from the even and unyielding surface of the iron rail, on which the wheels of the carriage travel."

A discusssion of grades and their effect upon the motive power follows. An estimate is made that on a good level railroad one horse can draw steadily a load of eleven or twelve tons, the weight of carriages included. Where a road is nearly level with grades amounting to not more than 26 feet in a mile, an average load of ten tons may be drawn by a horse. Where the grade runs from 26 feet in a mile to 80 feet, the load may be computed at five tons.

In a footnote the following amusing fact is stated: "The labor of the horse may be still further relieved, by providing a platform, placed on small wheels, on the long descents, on which the horse himself may ride. This expedient, singular as it may seem to persons unaccustomed to observe the ease of locomotion on a railroad, is adopted with success on the Darlington and Mauch Chunk rail roads, and the horses eat their provender, while they are returning to a point where their labor is to be resumed."

Thus it appears that the dumb beasts were provided with a dining car half a century before such a convenience was instituted for human passengers.

A subsidiary, alternative plan, was suggested in order to avoid using horses for the steeper grades. It involved using stationary powers, "acting on inclined planes, to be built on all the declivities which are too great to be traversed by the ordinary travelling power, required on the level parts of the road." They were to operate wheels and pulleys run by water power where it could be obtained. Calculations to determine the relative cost of such appliances, of horse power throughout, and of extensive excavating and filling, were to be made to determine which would be cheapest. According to the estimates presented:

"The average cost per mile of forming the road 22 feet in width, from Boston to the border of the state of New York, including the excavation, embankments, walls, bridges, culverts, and other work preparatory to laying the stone foundations will be $4,770.06

Iron for 4 rails, with bolts per mile, including 4 passings from one track to the other and back, 1,985.04

Rail stone, including the quarrying, hammering laying, drilling, and putting on the iron, per mile, 6,020.80

Digging trenches, carting stone, and laying wall to support the rail stone, and gravelling horse paths, per mile	$2,164.80
	$14,940.70

"If we add to this amount ten per cent. to cover the cost of further surveys, superintendence, and unforeseen contingencies, the whole estimate will be $16,434.77 per mile. At this rate the cost of making the road from Boston to the border of the state of New York on the line which forms the basis of the estimates, would be $2,638,628.64, and of carrying it to the city of Albany $3,254,876.46."

The estimated cost of transportation of freight from Boston to Albany was thus tabulated:

If the road be made with stationary powers—

20 horses at 50 cents per day	$10.00
One man 4 days at $1	4.00
Carriages, 4 days, at 75 cents	3.00
Add 50 per cent	8.50
For conveyance of 16 tons	$25.50
Cost per ton, exclusive of tolls	1.59

Without stationary powers—

20 horses at 50 cents	$10.00
8 horses additional	4.00
1 man, 4 days	4.00
Carriages	3.00
	$21.00
Add 50 per cent	10.50
For 16 tons	$31.50
Cost per ton	$1.97

These rates are compared with those for transportation by water, with insurance, from Boston to Albany, which ranged from $2.50 to $4.00 per ton with insurance at about ¾ per cent.

There follows an estimate of the cost of carrying passengers from Boston to Albany, in a carriage holding twenty people with their baggage.

16 horses traveling 12 or 13 miles each at 50 cents	$8.00
2 men and 1 carriage	3.00
	$11.00
Add 50 per cent	5.50
For 20 passengers	$16.50

For each passenger, 82½ cents.

Or if constructed without stationary powers requiring six additional horses—

22 horses at 50 cents	$11.00
2 men and 1 carriage	3.00
	$14.00
Add 50 per cent.	7.00
For 20 passengers	$21.00

Adding two dollars for toll would bring the price per passenger, $2.82 by the one plan, and $3.05 by the other, covering the distance in 22 hours. These were the results of the careful investigations of the Board of Directors of Internal Improvement as presented to the Legislature in the Report of 1829. We are amused at their crudities, yet those men, who saw visions and dreamed dreams, were true prophets of the modern day which was then dawning upon the Commonwealth. An immense amount of preliminary work had been done under their direction and it was seed destined to produce a perpetual series of abundant harvests.

In estimating the probable amount of passenger business of the proposed road the Board of Directors of Internal Improvements stated: "There are now six distinct lines of stage coaches, on all which eighteen stages, exclusive of extra coaches, generally well loaded, run through from Boston to Albany, and return the same number of times, weekly. It is computed that they carry the average number of 50 passengers, both passages included, per day, who would travel on the route selected for the railroad. To this may be added for the travelling to and from intermediate places, what is equivalent to 30 passengers more, through the whole line, making in all 75 passengers a day, or 23,475 per annum.

These at a toll of a cent a mile, or $2 for the whole distance, would pay toward the support of the road $46,950."

In the course of computations of the amount of freight which might be expected an interesting item appears stating that "West Springfield sends 36,000 bushels of rye to Springfield for distillation, but sends no grain to a distant market. Several other towns raise large quantities of grain which are exported only in the form of gin." Westfield was included in that category, though we have no data to support a calculation of the annual output of its distilleries.

Various lines both east and west of the Connecticut river were followed and mapped in the preliminary surveys. One on the east ran through Princeton, Rutland, Barre, Hardwick, Ware, Palmer, Belchertown, Granby, South Hadley to Rock Ferry. One on the west side went to Northampton, thence to Williamsburg, Conway, Ashfield, Savoy and South Adams. Another went to Deerfield and thence up the Deerfield river.

From Westfield to the state line two general routes were surveyed, the northern and the southern. For the latter, several preliminary surveys were made, one by the north branch of Westfield Little river to Blandford and Otis; another through Granville and Tolland to East Otis; a third from Little river up Munn's brook to Granville and East Otis. The southerly route passed through the village of Westfield a little south of the green. In spite of the inconvenience of the distance from the more thickly settled parts of the town to the station across the river it certainly has been a great advantage to have the road located as it is.

In a speech before the House of Representatives delivered Feb. 14, 1838, by Hon. Emory Washburn of Worcester, appealing for aid in building the road, he cites the fact that it had at that time 2,400 stockholders, persons of sufficient interest and confidence in the enterprise to support it with their subscriptions.

The several responses of the State to appeals for the road were as follows: By Act of April 4, 1836, when the capital stock was increased from $2,000,000, to $3,000,000, the State subscribed for one third of that amount.

By Act of Feb. 21, 1838, the State subscribed for $2,100,000

worth of scrip, and March 23, 1839, there was authorized a further loan of the credit of the Commonwealth for $1,200,000.

In the report of 1840, G. W. Whistler, Esq., engineer of the road, reported that "one of the company's engines of 10 tons will draw over the highest grades between Boston and Springfield, 59 tons of merchandise. One of the engines of 14 tons will draw 85 tons of merchandise over the same."

In 1918 the Boston & Albany's largest engines weighed 505,000 pounds apiece and each was 86 feet long.

In reporting the excursion over the new railroad from Westfield to Chester, May 21, 1841, Mr. Porter says:

"At half past twelve, the cars, after *taking in* the gentlemen of the press and other professionals in this town, started for Chester Factories, 18 miles from Westfield; the distance being performed in less than an hour. We landed at the depot at that place and then proceeded on foot to the hotel of our excellent host Mr. Stevens where we were regaled with a dinner of the 'tallest kind.' Nothing short of an entire basket of Champagne was 'drank' on the occasion. After spending two or three hours at Chester, enjoying ourselves in the happiest possible manner, the company left for this place, highly delighted with our *novel* excursion. In all our railroad travels we never felt more perfectly at home than under the guardian care of Major Whistler, the Chief Engineer. Mr. Adams of the engineer corps, will please accept our thanks for his kindness. The road between Westfield and Chester appears to be one of the best and safest that we ever passed over. It is the last route in the world where we should ever dream of making a railroad. It follows the valley of great river and crosses the stream eight times."

At this point the editorial soul swelled with enthusiasm and burst forth in eloquent expression: "But what will not Yankee enterprise accomplish? It will level our mountains and bridge our rivers. In relation to the enterprising sons of New England, it may emphatically be said, that her hills and valleys and rocks, and everlasting mountains live and breathe under the animating influence of her intelligent and hard working population. Every stream feeds its canal, every section of country has its railroad, distance is annihilated, the emboweled earth yields forth its treasures, and

the face of the earth blooms and blossoms and fructifies like a paradise. And all this is the result of the intelligence, industry and enterprise of northern laborers, fostered by the genial influences of our institutions. Look upon our mighty cities, our smiling villages, our fertile fields, our productive mines, our ten thousand improvements, and no wonder Massachusetts is completely intellectualized under their auspices."

The distance from Chester to Pittsfield, about twenty miles, still awaited completion, but was to be covered by the new road within a few months, during which period passengers had still to depend upon stages.

Dec. 31, 1841. The authorities at Albany on the preceding Monday entertained by invitation the Mayor and Common Council of Boston with gentlemen of the press from Boston and intermediate places, in commemoration of the opening of the Western railroad. In the evening the town was illuminated by candles made that morning in Boston. The Albany Evening Journal of Tuesday reports: "At the Ferry an escort, consisting of the Mayor and Common Council of Albany, the Burgesses Corps, with its Band, the Artillery the Van Rensselaer Guards, the Union Guards, and the different Fire Engine Companies with torches proceeded in procession with Cooke's excellent Band under the direction of Major Strain as Marshal of the Military, and the Chief Engineer and Assistants as Marshals of the Fire Companies, to Congress Hall where supper was prepared for the guests. The Military and Fire Companies partook of collations hastily prepared for them at McCardell's, the Rensselaer House, Robert Harris', and the Franklin House. The Military and Firemen added greatly to the interest of the occasion, and are entitled to thanks for the promptness with which they turned out."

After expressing appreciation of the significance of the completed enterprise and of the energy wherewith the various officials had prosecuted it the account continues: "The Eastern Delegations were received by the Common Council at the City Hall this morning, where congratulations were interchanged. They then waited upon the Governor at the Executive Chamber and visited the Court of Errors. Among the Delegates from Springfield is the Hon. George

Ashmun, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, to whose exertions and influence in the Legislature of that state the Western Rail Road is mainly indebted for the liberal aid granted by the state. The Press is represented here by the Editors of the Springfield Gazette and Republican, Worcester Ægis, and Boston Advertiser."

From the Atlas the following statement is taken under the caption—"The Western Rail Road." "The entire line of the road is now open *for passengers* from Boston to Albany. On Monday last the first train from Boston reached Albany about 7 P.M. and was received by a salute of cannon and much enthusiasm. On Tuesday trains went through in both directions, the Western arriving here late, in consequence of some slight detention by snow, and the failure of an engine on the Boston and Worcester Railroad. On Wednesday evening the Western train arrived in good season. By a singular coincidence the Hudson closed just as the line was completed, and travellers are now carried for $6 each between Albany and New York, via Springfield and New Haven. The trains are well filled, and the receipts highly encouraging. The passenger fare is $5½ for 1st class, and two thirds that price for 2d class passenger between Boston and Albany."

May 6, 1842. The News Letter cites the Evening Journal as authority for the heavy business of the Western Road, the receipts for passengers, freight and mails having for some weeks past exceeded a thousand dollars a day. Two trains run daily each way, and it is proposed to start a third train very soon.

Dec. 23. "A train of cars was caught by snow in a deep cut near the Washington summit. After a detention of nineteen hours the engine was hauled out by oxen and horses collected from the surrounding neighborhood, another engine was procured which hauled the train toward Boston."

In 1846 Connecticut granted the right to build a railroad over the route of the old canal as far as the State line.

The hopes of the promoters of the New Haven and Northampton canal, together with those of the thousands of people in the region which it traversed, having been blasted by its failure, attention was turned to a more effective method of transportation. At a meeting of the canal stockholders

held Feb. 25, 1846, it was voted that the directors be authorized and directed to petition the Connecticut Legislature for power to build a railroad to take the place of their canal. A charter was granted and accepted, and the work of construction was begun in January, 1847. The road was opened to Plainville, Jan. 18, 1848; to Tariffville, Jan. 19, 1850, and to Collinsville in the following month.

In the News Letter of Feb. 21, 1849, the following item appears: "New Haven & Northampton Rail Road. An adjourned meeting of the inhabitants of Farmington, Avon, Canton, Simsbury and Granby, favorable to the extension of the Canal Rail Road by the Western survey through the above named towns was held at Gabriel's Hotel in Canton, February 6th, 1849."

In the issue of a week later there is a report of a large and enthusiastic meeting of Westfield citizens, the regular April meeting, to consider the contemplated Canal railroad from the Connecticut State line to the Western (the present Boston & Albany) railroad. Speeches were made by various gentlemen and the following preamble and resolutions were adopted, as moved by Hon. James Fowler:

"*Whereas* the Hampshire and Hampden Canal, by virtue of a charter granted by the Legislature of this Commonwealth, was constructed through this and the neighboring towns about twenty years since, under the promise and expectation of furnishing for the inhabitants of this vicinity a market for our produce and manufactures, and a more convenient mode for travelling than was then enjoyed; and

"*Whereas*, In order to facilitate this project, the land over which the said Canal passed was in many instances freely given, and in others a very partial and inadequate compensation was accepted; and in all cases where damages were assessed by appraisal, the benefit to the owners which it was imagined would inevitably accrue from the construction of this navigable stream to the tide waters, was, by the terms of the charter, first to be deducted from the estimated value of the land: and

"*Whereas*, these expectations of advantage both to the public and to individuals have entirely failed of being realized, and the towns have thus suffered in the obstruction of their

highways, and individuals in the appropriation of their lands, and in many instances in the loss of their money as stockholders:

"*Be it therefore Resolved*, That any further legislative aid to said Canal Company, or to any persons or corporations claiming to be their successors, by which they should be impowered to divert the travel and business from the entire route of said Canal in the State of Massachusetts, would be most palpably unjust to the inhabitants of this and the neighboring towns, and one which we shall not readily believe an intelligent Legislature of Massachusetts will adopt against the rights and interests of their own citizens and in favor of foreigners to our jurisdiction.

"*Resolved*, Should the Legislature of Massachusetts deem it expedient to grant any charter for a Railroad to the present petitioners, inasmuch as they acknowledge themselves possessed of about $300,000 of the old Canal property, for a large portion of which, if anything, a mere nominal sum was paid: and inasmuch as the Legislature of Connecticut, actuated by an intelligent spirit of justice and right, made provision in their acts of incorporation, that the Railroad to be made through the said State, should be constructed 'on or near the line of the Canal,' thereby obviously intending to provide accommodations for that same line of travel and business which the Canal had failed to supply: it would seem most obviously in accordance with the same spirit of justice and right, that the Legislature of Massachusetts should also provide that in the continuance of the same road by the same proprietors into the State of Massachusetts, they should be limited to its construction here, as in Connecticut, 'on or near the line of the Canal.'

"*Resolved*, That while the construction of the proposed railroad to Springfield could add little or nothing to the prosperity or business of that town, already so fully accommodated with Railroad facilities, it ought to be an object with the Legislature whenever it is possible, to encourage the establishment and growth of other such centres of activity and business, and thereby to increase the prosperity and population of every part of the State.

"*Resolved*, That the Town Clerk be directed to forward

copies of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to our Representatives in the General Court, who are hereby instructed to use all fair and honourable means for accomplishing the purposes contemplated in said resolves," which were unanimously adopted.

The following delegates were appointed to proceed to Boston to inform the Legislature of any required facts on the subject and to urge that body to enact a law to have the road constructed so as to strike the Western Railroad at Westfield: Jehiel Abbott, Matthew Ives, Abner Post, D. H. Merwin, Asa B. Whitman, Caleb Alden, J. R. Rand, Ira Yeamans, Jr., N. Chapin, Hiram Harrison and Addison Gage.

Soon afterward the petitioners for the various routes had a hearing before the Legislative Committee in Boston, and Edward B. Gillett, Esq., urged the claims of those who desired to have its terminus at Westfield.

The effort to secure for Westfield the proposed road was beset with serious difficulties. Those who had the matter in charge as officials of the road strove vigorously to secure a charter whereby the junction with the Western road should be in West Springfield, thus robbing Westfield of coveted benefits.

At a hearing before the railroad committee of the Senate the plea for a route to the latter town was rejected, the report of the committee to that effect was adopted, and leave to withdraw the petition was unanimously adopted, proving that the arguments of Mr. Gillett were effective, as shown also by the fact that the committee was ready to grant the company a charter on condition that it should make Westfield the point of juncture with the Western road.

A long communication signed "Westfield" was published in the issue of April 18, 1849. The writer rehearses at length various matters relating to the subject which indicated that the Connecticut promoters of the enterprise had been guilty of "double-dealing and two-facedness," and reports transactions before the Legislative hearing.

In November of 1848, Mr. Sheffield, the president and largest stockholder of the Northampton and New Haven road, wrote to the committee of the town of Westfield, following other correspondence, stating, "We are pleased to

learn that you are awake on the subject of Railroad extension. * * * We shall expect to hear from your Committee the general price of freight paid and the probable number of tons per annum." Replying thereto the Committee reported that the annual amount of tonnage from Westfield, including the shipments of a single paper mill in Russell, would be eleven thousand nine hundred and twelve tons, and concluded as follows,—"Your Committee have gone personally to each man and examined their freight bills, and all agree that if the Road is located here the business will be much increased." Those facts, with others, were sworn to by Colonel Merwin, chairman of the town committee which appeared before the legislative committee in Boston. The testimony also showed Westfield to contain an enterprising population of about five thousand with a celebrated Academy and one of the State Normal Schools, that Southwick, another town which had suffered from the failure of the canal, contained a busy and thrifty population of 1,400 and shipped annually a large amount of freight to various outside points. Many tons of freight were transported regularly from the Western road at Westfield to Tariffville and other towns of the Farmington valley.

The News Letter states, July 25, 1849, that the proprietors of the canal railroad were pushing it merrily on toward the State line but heading toward Springfield, and utters a warning that the Legislature would never permit it to go there.

An editorial comment, Dec. 26, pays the following tribute to a rising young lawyer who became one of the most illustrious of Westfield's citizens: "Mr. Gillett certainly made a most excellent speech, and carried the audience away with him in a perfect storm of enthusiasm. He exhorted the town to stand by her former vote, and to back up her Representatives, and do all in her power to enable them to meet this question when it comes up in the Legislature, without flinching." The vote stood 25 to 1.

Springfield and West Springfield were making strenuous efforts to secure the road and the fight waxed hot and furious.

While the Legislature was in session in the early part of 1850, there was another hearing before it. The Westfield

delegation still strenuously opposed the plan for terminating the road at Springfield, and much bad blood was generated.

In April the matter was debated in the House for two full days, members from various parts of the State taking vigorous part in it. Finally, the motion to carry the road to Westfield was lost, yeas 85, nays 87. Then the motion to carry it to Springfield was also rejected, yeas 81, nays 99. The report of a majority of the committee, giving both sets of petitioners leave to withdraw, was accepted without a count.

The claim was urged before the Legislative committee, supported by a formal opinion of Judge Ellsworth of Connecticut, that the original charter of the company granted in 1846 required the laying of the road "on or near" the line of their canal, and under it a divergence from it to any great extent could not be allowed either in Connecticut or Massachusetts.

The Northampton and Westfield railroad was incorporated May 22, 1852. The corporators were Samuel Williston, Noah L. Strong, Ira Yeamans, Jr., and Alfred L. Strong. It was authorized "to locate, construct and complete a railroad commencing at some point on the Connecticut River Railroad, within eighty rods of the station of said railroad in the town of Northampton, passing thence through said Northampton, Easthampton, Southampton, and part of Westfield, to some point on the Western Railroad, within eighty rods of the station grounds of said Westfield in said Westfield."

In May, 1855, the townspeople witnessed the completion of an enterprise of vital importance to their welfare as a community, which was at the same time the fruit of a long and bitter struggle of powerful interests which violently and persistently opposed their efforts. The Canal railroad was then finished, thereby connecting by an efficient thoroughfare Westfield and New Haven. The roadbed was also at that time completed between Westfield and Northampton, lacking only the iron to furnish communication to the northward. To secure the iron so essential thereto, the company awaited the sale of bonds still in its hands, hoping and striving to interest capitalists sufficiently to crown the enterprise.

Notice of the annual meeting of the directors of the Hamp-

den and Hampshire Railroad, signed by Samuel Fowler, secretary, appeared in the News Letter, May 23. It was hoped to complete it at the moderate cost of $18,000 a mile carrying the line through to Northampton.

The time table of the new road began to appear as an advertisement in the News Letter, July 4, 1855: "Canal Rail Road open to Westfield. This road now being opened to Westfield, a train will leave Westfield (Western R. R.) for New Haven at 6:00 A.M. connecting at Plainville with H. P. & F. R. R. for Hartford, and at New Haven with 9:35 A.M. train for New York. Leave New Haven at 4:20 P.M. for Westfield, connecting with 12:30 P.M. train from New York, and at Plainville with H. P. & F. R. R. from Hartford. Passengers will be ticketed through to and from New York on this road. Freight to New York taken through in 20 hours, without breaking bulk, via New York and New Haven railroad. New Haven, May, 1855. H. A. Bucher, Agent."

Editorial Note, May 16, 1856: "*Canal Railroad.* Our new railroad has opened under the most favorable auspices. The number of passengers and the amount of freight are unexpectedly large, and we see not why it is not destined to be a remunerating road. Freight which arrives here on the morning train goes East and West the next day upon the Western Road, which allows shippers of freight from New Haven, New York and the towns along the Farmington Valley, to send their freight through to its destination to Albany and Boston and the intermediate places quicker than by any other conveyance."

In the following year note is made of an excursion made on the 4th of July by a large number of citizens over the completed road to Northampton where they were "sumptuously entertained."

At the March meeting in 1856 a remonstrance was voted against the petition of J. M. Blanchard and others for a charter for a railroad from the State line in Southwick to the Western railroad in West Springfield or the city of Springfield. The town clerk was requested to send a copy of the remonstrance with reasons annexed to the town's representative, instructing him to present it to the House of Representatives with a request that it be read and printed. The old fight

for the road was thus continued, against the obstinate purpose of the officials to divert it to another terminus, which they never accomplished.

May 6, 1842, there is a quotation from the Springfield Gazette as follows: "A train of 68 cars passed over the Western Railroad on Saturday. This we believe is the longest and heaviest train that has yet gone over the road. Among other things it contained 1,330 swine, 40 cattle, 40 bales of wool, 350 barrels of flour, 8 tons of iron, 20 tons of shingles, &c., the whole weight, with engine, tender and cars being about 712,000 pounds. The average daily freight from Boston is 40 cars."

The following item of May 16, 1849, relates to a man who was well known in this vicinity through his efficient work as chief engineer of the Western railroad while it was under construction, now known as the Boston & Albany: "A letter from St. Petersburg, Russia, dated, April 7, says, 'It is with sorrow I inform you of the death of Major George W. Whistler. He died this morning after a long illness consequent upon an attack of cholera. His death has plunged in grief all our countrymen residing here. It is needless to speak on his praise. Those who knew him can attest his exalted worth and character. He enjoyed to a remarkable degree the confidence of the Emperor Nicholas and the officers of the government, with whom he had public or private relations, and his death has cast a gloom over every one who was acquainted with him.' " He was the Father of the celebrated American artist, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, who died in London in 1903. The artist lived on Chestnut Street, Springfield, from 1840 to 1843.

It is interesting to note what seemed like great prosperity to the Western railroad and its patrons in the early days of small things. Its fifteenth annual report published early in 1850, is thus itemized. "The income has been: From passengers, $561,575.25; freight, $745,393.81; other sources, $36,851.31; total, $1,343,810.57. The expenses, $588,322.58. Net earnings, $755,487.26. The gross earnings over the previous year have been increased $12,000; the expenses reduced about $64,000."

It is interesting to contrast that report with a modern

one published in The Springfield Republican on Jan. 16, 1916: "The Boston and Albany railroad in 1913 handled an average of 815 loaded cars per day, east-bound from Albany; in 1914 this average dropped to 736, but last year it rose to 818. The greatest gains came at the end of the year, as is shown by the following table of averages:

	1913.	1914.	1915.
September.....	806	751	800
October.....	860	771	902
November.....	860	737	1,002
December.....	758	736	887

The December average for 1915 does not fairly represent the situation, for there were practically three days when on account of storms no cars were moved east of Albany."

During August, 1850, a brick sidewalk was completed connecting the green with the Western railroad depot, on the west side of Elm Street.

The speed of trains on those early railroads naturally excited wonder. In 1831 it was reported that a "locomotive ran from Schenectady to Albany in *50 minutes*, and returned the following day to Schenectady, at a rate of 20 miles an hour. Wood was used as fuel, anthracite coal was attempted but the heat was so great as to melt the bars of the grates. Passengers are carried each way 3 times a day."

July 28, 1835. "Considerable Speed. The locomotive Fire Fly came from Saratoga to Schenectady on Monday in 59 minutes, distance 22 miles only."—N. Y. Times.

June 9. "Lowell Rail Road. A trial of a locomotive engine was made on the Lowell railroad on Wednesday last. The car containing a number of gentlemen made the passage from Boston to Lowell in an hour and fifteen minutes and the return passage in an hour and twenty minutes. This is 'going ahead' with a vengeance."

In May, 1869, petitions for a charter for a road between Westfield and Holyoke were circulated and freely signed in both towns. The charter was granted, the following month.

At a meeting of the corporators of the road held in Holyoke, Oct. 12, the following board of directors was elected: J. C. Parsons, William Whiting, T. Merrick, John C. Newton

and August Stursberg of Holyoke, J. Beebe of Springfield and Cutler Laflin of Westfield.

During the summer of 1870 Lewis F. Root of Westfield surveyed a route to cross East Mountain through Bush's Gap, and the work of construction was begun in December, which owing to favorable weather was continued through the winter by a force of over four hundred men and seventy teams.

In April, 1871, the force was increased to a thousand and a steam shovel was operated at Clay Hill. The bridge at Brass hill was built in August. Freight trains began to run regularly in October and passenger traffic was inaugurated by an excursion from Holyoke to New Haven November 15 under the direction of Charles N. Yeamans, Vice-President. Nearly five hundred people from the two towns were thus transported to enjoy the hospitality of the Elm City.

The whole length of the Holyoke and Westfield road is ten and three-tenths miles, and it was built without a grade crossing, Mr. Yeamans having realized keenly the advantage of such a plan.

In November, 1855, there was opened an office in Westfield of a telegraph line running from Springfield to Albany. It was located at the station of the Western railroad and open from 8 A.M. to 9 P.M. Other offices were at Chester Factories and Pittsfield respectively.

CHAPTER VI

The Founding of Various Churches

The earliest controversy in the churches of New England arose from, and raged about, what was known as the Half-way covenant. It was originated by the claim that the baptized children of believers were essentially regenerate and it resulted in great confusion and perplexity. As such children grew to maturity and "owned the covenant," accepted for themselves what their parents had done in their behalf, they could have their children in turn baptized but could not commune or vote for church officers. Though they promised to walk in fellowship with the church, they were thus debarred from certain specified privileges.

It was approved by a New Synod of more than seventy ministers in 1662, and won its way among a vast majority of the New England churches, but resulted in a general laxity of religious faith and conduct, and in the last quarter of the 17th century, there arose a modified movement in behalf of the accordance of full church privileges to the Half-way covenant members. In opposition to this movement many souls, zealous for the purity of the faith and a more strict exercise of discipline, joined in what was known as a "Separate" movement. They were wont to absent themselves from the worship of the established order, and held meetings in private houses or in rude buildings erected for their distinctive purpose.

The earliest Baptist churches of the colonies were founded in sympathy with this reaction from what many zealots considered the unsound condition of the established churches, and from them met with opposition and oppression.

There was a Baptist church in Boston in 1665 and to it some sixty years later there came an appeal from this region as their records show:

"Near the same time [1727] there came a letter from Springfield signed by thirty men, directed to the Baptist church in Boston, requesting that their pastor might be sent up to labor among them. He went accordingly, and on July 23, 1727,

baptized John Leonard, Ebenezer Leonard, William Scott, Abel Leonard and Thomas Lamb of Springfield, and Victory Shayes and Marcy Lawton of Suffield. A letter to him, dated July 19, signed Daniel Brewer, Ebenezer Devotion, Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, Nehemiah Bull, blames him for not first coming to them, and says, 'We cannot think that preaching to, or treating with particular persons in a private manner to instill into them doctrines that we think are not according to truth and godliness, to be so christian-like; and we assure you is not what we expected from Mr. Callender, whatever we might have feared from some others.' Mr. Devotion was minister in Suffield, and Bull of Westfield; the other there were of Springfield. (History of New England with particular reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists. Reprint by the Backus Historical Society, Vol. I, pp. 512, 513.)

As early as the middle of the eighteenth century there was formed the nucleus of what became a Baptist church in Westfield. It was a step in the progress of the widespread Separate movement in New England. The following deed is evidence of such an organization:

"On the 17th of April 1753, Jonathan Fowler of Westfield, husbandman, for good will and respect to Jedediah Dewey, John Noble, George Granger, Ebenezer Bush, Abel Morley, Israel Dewey, Moses Kellogg, Pompey Negro, and Nathaniel Collins, who being incorporated into a body whom I look upon to be a church of Christ, for which reason I grant unto them land near Little River on the south side of a certain brook upon Bridge Hill or Dewey's Hill, or near the place where Josiah Dewey's house formerly stood on the east side of the highway, near the dwelling house of Asa Noble: bounded west on said highway, east on land of said Fowler, north on the brow of the hill or his own land, south on said Fowler's land, containing fifty foot square to build a house for the worship of God, so long as they, their successors, and followers shall use and improve the same for that use and no longer." (Life of Rear Admiral Dewey and Dewey Family History, p. 859.)

On the day following the date of that deed, April 18, 1753, the following record appears in the Diary of Mr. Ballantine,

"Separates raised a meeting house," showing that full preparation had already been made for such action to be taken as soon as a location for the building could be legally secured. At the close of that year he estimates the number of Separates in town at 38.

The site of that building, southeast of the present iron bridge on Main Street, has probably been washed away by the Little river in times of freshet, the bed of the stream being now about forty rods west of where it was at the time of the settlement of the town, according to the conclusion of Louis M. Dewey, who has made careful investigation of the subject.

The first named person in that deed conveying land was one of the most prominent Separates of Westfield, Jedediah Dewey, 3d, born there April 11, 1714, died in Bennington, Vt., Dec. 21, 1778, aged 64. In "Memorials of a Century," by Rev. Isaac Jennings of Bennington, a letter from Rev. Emerson Davis, D.D., of Westfield is quoted:

"Mr. Dewey united with the church [in Westfield] Oct. 30, 1738, at twenty-four years of age. Soon after this the church adopted the half-way covenant. * * * This was particularly offensive to some of the earnest and devoted members. They said the church had abandoned its principles and would admit unconverted persons to the church. Many absented themselves from the communion. They left the church. Mr. Dewey did so in 1748. He was called to give account in 1749. In 1750 the church voted that, inasmuch as he had gone out from them, had joined the Separates, and become their preacher, they would no longer regard him as one of their number. They did not call it excommunication, but a withdrawal of fellowship. Mrs. Dewey was cut off in the same manner in 1751. Mr. Dewey had only a common school education, but he was intelligent and gifted. His Christian character stood high. The church refused to excommunicate him because it would imply something criminal, and so they only withdrew fellowship."

Mr. Ballantine makes frequent mention of him in his Diary, the most significant being under date of March 7, 1754, the year following that in which the Separate meeting house was raised: "Jedediah Dewey set apart for a Teacher of ye

Separate company here by Payne Stephens and Frothingham Wadsworth."

Feb. 28, 1749–50, it was voted that persons withdrawing and pretending conscience should not be excommunicated but simply declared no longer members. Such motion was taken in the cases of Jedediah Dewey, Noah Noble, and Hannah Old. "Voted also, That a Day of fasting & prayer be observed to humble our selves under the Judgements of God in permitting such errors & contentions among us & in ye land."

Sept. 5, 1750. "The Church being warn'd met John Noble Ebenr Bush & Miriam his Wife Benjn Ashley Rebecca Dewey, Mindwell the wife of Jedediah Dewey & Pompey negro Servant of David Moseley Esqr being Cited to appear before the Church, to give the Reasons of their Separating from the Church—Rebecca Dewey & Mindwell Dewey did not appear, but sent excuses. Miriam Bush gave as a reason that persons that had not Grace were admitted into the Church. Benjamin Bush gave this as his reason. Ebenr Bush gave this as his reason & that the Church denyed the power of Godliness—John Nobles reasons were 1. The Churches admitting members yt had no Grace. 2. The way of introducing Ministers, not trying the Spirits, obliging persons to acknowledge them the Ministers of Ch merely because they have had the hands of presbytery laid upon them. 3. Because private Brethren had not liberty to exercise their Gifts & to speak when they were fill'd. 4. Their speaking of the Separates as deluded & influenced by a false Spirit. Pompey negro gave reason, That persons were admitted yt had not Grace, these reasons the Church voted were insufficient, & Deacon Taylor, Deacon Ashley, Stephen Nash, Asa Noble, Jesse Moseley, John Shepard Junr & Aaron Phelps were appointed a committee to join with the Pastor of the Church, to try to convince them of their Errors."

Feb. 23, 1750. "The committee having failed to convince of their errors John Noble Ebenr Bush junr & Miriam his wife, Pompey Negro Servant of David Moseley Esqr, they were declared no longer members."

Jan. 1754. Mary wife of Handford Old acknowledged "her error in leaving the church and joining the Separates & having promised to walk with us in the Ordinances of the

Gospel she was received into Christ." Rebecca Dewey and Mindwell Dewey were declared no longer members.

October, 1754, at a church meeting "Rebecca Moseley wife of Consider Moseley Margaret Moseley wife of David Moseley Esq. Hannah widow of Benja Moseley, Mary wife of Handford Old Eliza wife of John Noble widoe of Benja Sexton Senr. Mary wife of George Saxton, Joanna wife of Israel Dewey were cited to appear & give yr reasons of Separating fro' this Church" * * *

Margaret Moseley speaks of the burdens upon her mind & says: "I am wholly of ye mind that this Church I have long been a member of, has for some time gone contrary to the Gospel in admitting unconverted persons into the Church or to the Lords Supper, as a means appointed by God for their conversion. I am greatly burdened that the rules of Discipline that we have given in the 8th of Matthew is so awfully neglected & abused as it is. My Brethren say I may not follow these steps of dealing with an Offending Brother as my Lord & Master plainly says I must. 3 I am greatly offended at the method of supporting the Ministry by distressing the goods of those that dont go to meeting with us, but are communicating to them that teach them in all good things. I am bound to tell yu yr failings in these things in yr fear of God hoping you will consider & turn fro' practicing to contrary to ye Gospel—so I remain yr grieved sister Margaret Moseley."

After having been a prominent and influential Separate for many years in his native region, Jedediah Dewey went to Bennington, Vt., in 1763, and organized the church which he served faithfully and efficiently during the remainder of his life. Several characteristic anecdotes relating to him are cherished in the Bennington traditions.

When the British forces in the summer of 1777 were pressing down the valley of the Hudson and threatening to sweep resistlessly through that territory of immense strategic value, it became very important to protect the military stores which had been gathered in the town. In view of the approaching menace Mr. Dewey preached a war sermon in which he made passionate appeal to the people to make a heroic fight in their defense. On the following Saturday his people responded so sturdily that the victory was achieved which was intimately

related to the more crucial one at Saratoga in October following.

On one occasion the redoubtable Col. Ethan Allen occupied a pew in the center aisle of the church when Mr. Dewey was preaching on the character of God. Some statement outraged the rough soldier, and having risen from his seat he shouted, "It's not so," and started to march out of the meeting house. The indignant minister stretched out accusing finger and commanded "Sit down, thou bold blasphemer, and listen to the word of God!" The voice of authority was too strong for Colonel Allen to resist and he supinely obeyed.

At a meeting called to make public thanksgiving for the capture of Ticonderoga, in which Colonel Allen had so famous a part, he and several other officers who had been participants in the romantic affair were present. Mr. Dewey preached and in his prayer gave God all the glory and praise for the capture of the Fort. Allen's sense of justice was offended, and finally his patience having been exhausted, he cried out, "Parson Dewey! Parson Dewey! Parson Dewey!" At the third demand the minister paused and opened his eyes for an explanation of the irreverent interruption. Allen then raised appealing hands and said, "Please mention to the Lord about my being there!" The appeal was lost, however, and the prayer proceeded to conclusion. The pretentious gravestone of the sturdy pastor stands in the foreground of the cemetery on the hill in old Bennington opposite the Walloomsac Inn which has maintained open hospitality to the public since its institution in 1764.

The persistent struggles of the Baptists to secure the right to live and to be freed from taxation for the support of the established Congregational church constitute a very interesting and important chapter of New England history. The first churches were in Rhode Island, organized respectively at Providence in 1639, and at Newport in 1644. The first one in Massachusetts was organized at Swansea in 1663, followed two years later by one at Boston. The first in Connecticut was formed at Groton in 1705.

It was not until 1736 that a church of that order was established in Hampshire county, at South Brimfield. The next one was organized in 1761 at Ashfield, followed in 1765 by

one at Leverett, in 1768 by one at Wilbraham, and in 1769 by one at Cheshire in Berkshire county. In 1772 three were established, respectively at New Salem, Pittsfield and Hancock. The next one was instituted at Westfield in 1784, followed the next year by a second one in the western part of the town which in 1792 was set off as the town of Russell. The ancient record contains the following account:

"First Baptist Church in Westfield. The proceedings of the Baptist brethren before their incorporation. Westfield, May 22, 1784. This day the undermentioned brethren of the Baptist Church in Suffield under the Pastoral care of the Elder John Hastings, met to consider the propriety of establishing a Baptist church in Westfield and after due consultation it was decided to invite Elder John Hastings and some chosen brethren of the Church in Suffield, of which we are members, to meet with us to consider the matter of forming a church in this town. The 3d Monday in June is the time we have selected for the meeting & may God further or prevent in this matter as he sees fit. Deacon Israel Dewey, Deacon Jonathan Hays, Jonathan Lyon, Daniel Waite, Eli Granger, Stephen Shepard, Josias Remington, Adam Hamilton.

"Westfield Aug 25th 1784

"This day having been set apart as a Fast day the brethren & Sisters met according to appointment and after the usual services on such an occasion in the morning, the afternoon was spent in friendly Christian converse and terminated in signing a covenant mutually binding themselves to work in Christian love for the forming a sister church in Westfield.

"The under mentioned are the brethren & sisters who willingly signed ye Covenant.

"Brethren Deacon Israel Dewey, Deacon Jonathan Hays, Jonathan Lyon, Daniel Waite, Eli Granger, Phillip Pitts, Stephen Shepard, Josias Remington, Datis Ensign, Adam Hamilton, Sarah Dewey, Widow Catherine Noble, Elizabeth Ensign, Hannah Waite, Catherine Noble, Mary Pitts, Sarah Morley, Edy Remington, Abigail Ensign. The conference concluded by singing an Hymn."

It appears that for an indeterminate period a small company of Christians in Westfield had belonged to the church

in Suffield, some fifteen miles distant, which was organized in 1775. Considering the conditions of travel in those days it must have involved considerable hardship to journey thither for worship, but they were sturdy folk, and when what to them was a cardinal religious or theological principle was involved no sacrifice was too great for its maintenance. They would honor and obey God at any cost.

The presence of the Baptists as Separates in New England, though few in number, was virtually coeval with that of the established Congregational church. Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, Separates, all contended for certain rights which were grudgingly conceded by the authorities under pressure which proved resistless. It was not until June 20, 1728, that a law was passed in Massachusetts which relieved Quakers and Baptists from obligation to pay for the support of the established ministry. In a valuable monograph based on extended personal research in this country and in England, prepared by a talented daughter of Westfield, appears the following comment: "After a preamble which cites the fact that application had frequently been made to the court in behalf of these people who refused to pay taxes for the support of the ministry," alleging a scruple of conscience for such their refusal, "the law stated that hereafter any belonging to a society of Anabaptists or Quakers should be exempt from having their 'polls' taxed for such an object, nor shall their bud (ie) (y) s be at any time taken in execution to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax assess'd upon their estates or faculty,' providing such persons were in the habit of attending their own meeting on the Lord's day and lived within five miles of a place of worship. * * * To discover who these Anabaptists and Quakers might be some one of one denomination or the other, appointed by the justices in each county, was to bring annually to the court of general sessions a list of persons professing themselves to be Anabaptist or Quaker and in the habit of attending meeting, these lists to be submitted by the clerk of the peace to the assessors of each town or precinct. Upon all not exempt the assessors were ordered to levy the rate, and only they who paid the tax for support of orthodox religion could vote in any matter relating to the ministry of the town. The act was to be in force for five years." (University of Illinois Bulletin,

Vol. XII, No. 15, Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740. Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D., p. 132.)

Subsequent legislation perpetuated that exemption with the maintenance of rights for which the contention had been so long and arduous.

One more step had to be taken to complete the establishment of the Westfield church.

"Westfield, Sept. 15, 1784. This evening the Brethren & sisters of the Church met at Brother Lyon's to hear read and consent to the "articles of faith & practice," also the Covenant to all of which they solemnly acquiesced and said amen. This being done the question for inviting Adam Hamilton to take the oversight of the Flock came before the meeting and by unanimous consent he was at once called to that office. (He being present.) Mr. Hamilton requested time for consideration which was granted with the result of his acceptance of the invitation."

It is a commentary upon the limited postal facilities of the time, that three messengers were chosen to bear in person the invitations to those widely scattered churches invited.

As finally constituted, Nov. 16, 1784, the churches actually represented were those respectively at Suffield, South Brimfield, Woodstock, Wilbraham and Sandisfield.

The first baptism was that of James Otis, Dec. 19, 1784, the second was that of Eleanor, the wife of Adam Hamilton, April 10 in the following year. They were married Nov. 25, 1784, shortly after his ordination. She was the daughter of Deacon Israel and Joanna (Noble) Dewey, and was born April 5, 1759. Deacon Israel was born Jan. 27, 1719, son of Israel and Sarah Dewey, and grandson of Thomas Dewey the settler who was the messenger appointed to go to the Bay and escort Rev. Edward Taylor to Westfield in 1671.

The whole number of baptisms recorded from the foundation of the church to the end of 1795 was 79, of whom 27 were men, including Lieut. Gideon Shepard, son of General William.

A curious financial arrangement was made. In March, 1789, it was voted that Bro. Copley "should purchase for the use of the church and Congregation ¼ part of a Grist Mill which had once belonged to Jonathan Lyon," John Morgan was to "attend the mill in the Churches interest and ½ of

the profits to be given to the Elder for his use." In December, 1790, the arrangement was annulled by deeding the part owned by the church "to Bro. Smith or any person whom he should name" on condition that he should be responsible for any obligation which had been incurred. Manifestly the plan had not proven financially successful.

In January, 1790, the Westfield church by a proceeding similar to that whereby it had been established by the Suffield church, instituted a church of eight men and seventeen women at Agawam.

The Westfield meeting house, as shown by the first official map of the State, that of 1794, stood on the south side of Main Street between the two bridges, not far from Little River street. The feeble flock which built it seems to have failed to attain vigorous life. Several members of that first organization took part in forming another, which in turn was known as the "Baptist Church of Christ in Westfield."

An Ecclesiastical Council was convened, May 20, 1806, for "the purpose of constituting a Baptist Church." Six churches were represented, Suffield, Chesterfield, Wilbraham and two in West Springfield. Elder Thomas Rand of West Springfield was chosen moderator, and Silas Root of the same church, clerk. Eleven brothers and seven sisters were constituted into a church to which the right hand of fellowship was given by Elder John Hastings of Suffield, who had superintended the organization of the original church and preached the ordination sermon of Elder Adam Hamilton eighteen years earlier. The name of the former elder does not appear among the names enrolled as charter members of the second organization. He died in Chesterfield in 1826.

The list is as follows: Males, Dn. Israel Dewey, James Otis, Gad Noble Jr., Lazerus Miller, Jabez Otis, John A. Mallery, Robert Gaylord, Gould Lewis, Thomas Herrick, Rantsford Allen, Nathan Allen Jr. Females, Catherine Noble, wife of Gad, Lydia Ensign, wife of Isaac, Wid. Silence Shepard, Grace Noble, wife of Barthol, Hannah Stebbins, wife of Tim, Lucy Otis wife of Jabez, Patience Gaylord, wife of Robert.

One of two members received by baptism during the year of organization of the church was Richard Falley, the hero

of two wars, who has received extended notice in a previous chapter. He was at that time 66 years old. A notice of his death "with consumption in the blood," Sept. 3, 1808, is recorded. His son, Richard, Jr., with his wife Amanda, were received by letter "from Bro Storr's church" Dec. 14, 1807. Another son, Russell, had been received in July. The first pastor of the church was Elder Azariah Hanks, one of its members who was ordained to the ministry June 10, 1807, by a council of pastors and delegates from the following churches: Chesterfield, First and Second of West Springfield, Suffield, Enfield, Wilbraham and Southwick. Joshua Tinker and Dan Spencer were ordained as Deacons at the same session.

The church voted $200.00 as an annual stipend, but afterward at a regular meeting seriously discussed the question whether they had scriptural warrant for "agreeing with a Minister to preach for *any* Stipulated Sum."

The church joined the Sturbridge Association, and reported to it in September, 1808, that there had been added during the year then ending 23 members, making its present number 68.

The Westfield Association was formed in 1811 and this church was one of its charter members. A patient review of the records of the church reveals much respecting the type of the religious life of its membership. It is evident that they adopted and sought to maintain the strictest Puritanism. They were enthusiastic and intense heirs and successors of the Separates of the preceding century, commendable for maintaining the courage of their convictions, for the heroic sacrifices which they willingly made to the demands of truth as they interpreted it, while at the same time they were the prey of narrowness, bigotry and asceticism to a far greater degree than were the members of the Congregational churches of the period. They were perpetually haling before church meetings members accused of various offenses, the great majority of which were in the form of failure to attend the regular assemblies for worship or for the commemoration of the Lord's Supper. In one case, "after a deliberate attention, voted that it is the mind of the Church that Bro. G. has been out of the way in joining the amusements of the men of the world and giving fellowship with them in sporting with the lives

of the creatures of God, viz. in Shooting Turkeys." Later a young woman was disciplined for dancing with her young companions who "are in the broad road to death." She was asked, "Can you be so cruel to them as to join with them in their sinful amusements and make yourself a stumbling block in their way?" A certain woman was refused admission to the church, although she had been immersed, because the ordinance had been administered by one who had not himself been immersed.

The church sent an elaborate protest to the Westfield Association because it countenanced the existence of a society in connection with a church, holding that all business should be transacted by the members without any participation by men of the world. It also presented to the consideration of the Association the propriety of inviting or even encouraging unregenerate persons to take part in the praise which was a part of public worship, since the natural heart and all its acts could be only an abomination in the sight of God.

A Baptist church at Russell was set apart from the Westfield church and duly constituted July 18, 1816, composed of eleven men and 16 women. The earlier church there, like the original one at Westfield, must have died from inanition.

In January, 1830, seventy-four members of the Westfield church were set off and organized as the Second Church, at Westfield Farms and Montgomery, for greater convenience in the conduct of their affairs, with Isaac Child as their elder. The records of this organization are brought down to 1874, about which time it must have ceased to maintain a separate existence. A council met at the Westfield meeting house Aug. 18, 1830, to ordain Ambrose Day, Jr., to the gospel ministry.

A council met May 23, 1833, to hear the claims of certain members. Having held sessions during all that day and met again on the morning following, twice in private dwellings and twice in the town house, the council approved the grounds taken by the minority members and formally organized them into the Central Baptist church, consisting of seven men and thirteen women. Andrew M. Smith, pastor of the other church, and Elder Ambrose Day, Jr., were among the constituency of the new church. Within a short time many members of the

older church joined the new one until the former was practically absorbed.

Andrew M. Smith served as pastor until 1834, succeeded by Rev. David Wright in June, 1836. Charles Van Loon served in that capacity from early in 1839 until March, 1840, when he left for Albany because of ill-health. Elder Founda Bester was settled in July following with an annual salary of $425 and a vacation of two Sundays.

Two members were excluded in 1842 on the ground that they had been baptized by a Mormon. In that year Alfred Colburn of Boston was ordained, but he severed his relationship within a year because of troubles in the church and hard feelings cherished against him.

The following pastorates succeeded, those respectively of R. M. Perkins, John Alden, John Green, William Carpenter, John R. Beaumis, John Hennings, E. M. Gerome, W. H. Eaton, H. P. Smith, R. B. Esten. In 1900 Rev. W. S. Ayres became pastor, and since then has served the church with ability and efficiency.

At the March meeting, 1834, the town received a petition from Martin Tinker, John Hall, David C. Sherman, Roswell Sherman, Isaac F. Tinker, Asa B. Whitman and James M. Dewey, "to have the town build the basement story of a church called the central Baptist church, to be owned and used by the town, and when not so used by the town to be occupied by the central Baptist church. The petition was not granted.

The following characteristic document is copied from the records of the church formerly existing at West Farms, now Wyben.

"Westfield, April 29th, 1832. Second Baptist Church in Westfield. In consequence of considering the chh in their deliberations actuated by covetousness and love of the world, and sacrificing their covenant obligations and so corrupted as a body that I have no fellowship with them and herein notify you (as I manifested in your last chh meeting) that I withdraw from the Chh. and shall no longer consider myself a member. I still remain a friend to the truth. Ezra Allen."

It was ten years after the first Baptist church was established in Westfield before the first circuit rider of Methodism made his advent in the western part of the town. The hamlet

there was called Hoop-Pole, since bearing the name of West Parish and Mundale. In reference to this hardy pioneer, Judge Robert Chapin Parker, in his interesting historical sketch marking the seventy-fifth anniversary of the church in the center of the town, says: "The olden circuit rider, rugged in his righteousness, rich in his experience, zealous in his labors, and strenuous in his activity, his horse and his bible his constant companions, appeals strongly to our imaginations. Popular or unpopular, learned or unlearned, gracious or rude, alone or with his fellow laborers, he was always picturesque and always aggressive. He preferred to be invited to visit a new community, and he preferred to have his audience furnished, but he was not at all insistent. He had a message and he had authority for delivering it, yea, verily, he was held strictly responsible by district and conference as to how he fulfilled the high calling that was his. * * * The Itinerant had arrived, and Methodism had entered the confines of Westfield. We became a part of the famous Granville Circuit, centering at the renowned Beech Hill, and which in 1800 belonged to the Rhinebeck District of the New York Conference and furnished the Presiding Elder with a territory extending from the Hudson to the Connecticut."

The reasons for choosing that portion of the town as the special field of his labor are obvious, due in the first place to its geographical relation to Granville which had been included in his itinerary for some time; due in the second place to the fact that the central portion of the town was provided with the established church, while a Baptist organization had been planted there which held meetings in the Little River region, and at the Farms in the northwest part of the town where people from Montgomery also gathered.

It was but natural that the exploring pioneer after having ridden through the impressive "Narrows," along over the crest whence he had the lovely outlook over the intervening plain, beyond which Mount Tom stood as a silent sentinel, as he made his final descent to the little settlement, should feel that Providence had directed him thither to break the fallow ground in a new field.

As already intimated, in 1800 the Granville circuit with its many neighboring classes and charges, which had been

until that year in the New England Conference, was transferred to the New York Conference, there to remain until 1829, when it was restored to its more natural relationship. The sight of the original church building on Beech Hill in Granville has been marked by a boulder through the efforts of a young preacher whose home was in Westfield, D. B. Aldrich. A memorial church has been built in Feeding Hills by E. R. Lay, a member of the Westfield church. The third of those early classes was at Hoop-Pole, and the territory included within them extended from Agawam to Worthington and overtaxed the energies of the two itinerant preachers who were annually assigned to shepherd those widely extended flocks.

Two years before the end of the eighteenth century there gathered in September the largest number of Methodist ministers ever assembled in New England, according to Mr. Parker. He adds, "In 1800, this Granville circuit reported 300 members, and in 1810, 352 members, while in that latter year Lynn had but 245 and Boston only 306. The reports tend to show that the circuit riders received their support in some other way than funds, for the few dollars contributed are merely nominal, but their zeal knew no financial limitations."

The Rev. Billy Hubbard, who once forbade a bishop to announce him as William Hubbard, organized the first class in Westfield, at Hoop-Pole. He was an enthusiastic, tireless worker, a character of marked originality and efficiency. It is said that a mob once laid in wait for him on the road from Springfield to Westfield, to subject him to personal indignity, but he escaped it unwittingly by responding to a call to visit a sick brother across the fields from the highway, resuming his journey by another road.

Revival services under Amasa Stocking, an exhorter, drew such crowds as to necessitate removal from a private house to Moses Sackett's barn, and so disturbed the staid Congregational church at the center of the town that its pastor was sent "to steady the Ark in Hoop-Pole." He reported that there was no danger threatening Hoop-Pole, because God was there.

In the historic year 1812, marked in the national annals by the outbreak of what is devoutly hoped will prove to have been the last war with the mother country, and in the local

annals by the institution of Hampden County, a decisive event marked the annals of the Methodist church of Westfield. It was then that under the pastorates of Rev. Reuben Harris and Rev. Thomas Thorpe, a class was formed in the center of the town in the house of Joel Farnum, on the corner of Main and Elm streets, where the itinerant preachers were wont to find entertainment and to hold services. Mrs. Farnum was one of the ten members of that original class, which was under the leadership of Oliver Sikes, a local preacher and afterward an itinerant preacher. It was officially connected with the church at Feeding Hills. The cause was greatly strengthened in 1818 by a revival in Little River as the fruit of labors earnestly prosecuted by Guy Noble.

Westfield and Feeding Hills appear in the Conference reports under the caption of Granville until 1832, when Westfield became the head of a circuit, and during that year steps were taken to provide a church building in the center of the town, following the erection and dedication of a building at Hoop-Pole in 1829.

Nov. 12, 1832, it was voted in town meeting "To give in aid of the Methodist Episcopal society the sum of three hundred & fifty dollars to enable them to pay for a lot of land on which a meeting house is now standing. Voted That a deed shall be taken in the name of the town & that said lot of land shall revert to the town, when it shall cease to be used by the Society for religious purposes. Voted That there shall be a committee of three to receive a deed & give a leave agreeable to the foregoing vote. Committee chosen, James Fowler, Thomas Ashley & Wm G. Bates." The lot thus presented by the town was on the corner of Main Street and what is now Clinton Avenue, where the residence of Mr. Chester H. Abbe stands.

The work of finishing the house proceeded slowly. It was not until the spring of 1833 that the frame was boarded and shingled and a floor laid. A rough pulpit was extemporized, rougher seats installed, and meetings were actually held in the new structure.

By strenuous exertions conditions were decidedly improved and the building was formally dedicated, September 10, 1833, a few months after the organization of the Central Baptist Church. The dedication sermon from a text dealing with "The House

of the Lord," was preached by one of the eloquent men of the town, Rev. Hiram H. White, who had recently been settled in Springfield.

The erection and occupancy of that building on Main Street partly account for, and were soon marked by, a decided increase in the growth and influence of the church. The Sunday School was placed under the superintendency of Hon. Thomas Kneill, a man of strong personality, who succeeded in office Hiram Harrison, another citizen of whom Westfield will always have occasion to be proud.

In 1836 the church took its place as a distinct organization in the great denomination. Under the pastorate of Rev. Jefferson Hascall, who came to it for the second time in 1842, plans were speedily matured for securing a new and larger building, upon a lot on the northwest corner of Elm and School streets. Its dimensions were 81 by 63 feet, with a vestry 63 by 47 feet, the audience room containing 116 pews. The building still stands on that corner. The postoffice was located there for about forty years, until moved recently to the new building on the corner of Main Street and the Green, provided by the Government at a cost of $75,000.

The dedication exercises of the new church building in March, 1843, drew a large audience. An organist from Boston played the voluntary, the hymn "Now to the Lord a noble song" was sung; Rev. James Mudge of West Springfield read the Scripture lessons and offered prayer; Dr. Charles Adams, principal of Wilbraham Acadeny, preached the sermon; Dr. Emerson Davis of the Congregational Church made the concluding prayer, thus again illustrating the comity between the two denominations, even though acrimonious discussions between Calvinists and Arminians were often waged.

Among the notable men who served the church in its pastorate during the first forty years of its independent existence were Mark Trafton, who in 1854 was elected to Congress, J. H. Twombley, William Butler, founder of Methodist missions in India and Mexico, Gilbert Haven, afterward Bishop, D. E. Chapin, H. W. Warren, afterward Bishop.

Dr. Twombley's first pastorate in Westfield was in 1851. He came again in 1874, meanwhile having served for a time as president of the Winconsin State University. It was during

his second pastorate that the pressing need of securing a more capacious and pretentious church building was responded to by securing the lot on the corner of Court Street and Holland Avenue from the late Dr. James Holland. His house, originally built by Richard Falley, hero of two wars, was moved south on the same side of Holland Avenue, where it still stands, occupied by Miss Elizabeth Hooker, and the handsome edifice was erectod which has been for so long an ornament to the town and has furnished its most capacious auditorium for popular assemblies. No citizen of Westfield during recent years has failed to appreciate the broad-minded wisdom of those who planned such an audience room, or the generosity which has marked successive generations of church officers in opening it for religious and civic needs of the community. In how many minds and hearts do hallowed associations cluster about that magnificent room in recalling occasions when it has been filled with vast audiences gathered in union revival meetings, union rallies in behalf of the moral welfare of the town, Memorial Day observances when the honored veterans of the Civil War, in decreasing numbers from year to year as impressive symbols of patriotism, were present, graduation exercises of our efficient high school when successive classes of our young people have received the crowning proof of completion of the educational course furnished so generously to every boy and girl of Westfield. Long may time and the elements spare that auditorium to maintain its historic hospitality!

The cornerstone of the edifice was laid June 3, 1875, the box of archives having been placed in its niche by Hon. Thomas Kneil, and addresses were made respectively by three former pastors, Dr. Mark Trafton, George Whitaker, and Dr. Jefferson Hascall. At the dedication services held April 4, 1876, the sermon was delivered by Bishop Matthew Simpson, renowned as a preacher and orator.

The pastors during and since the erection of the present church edifice, from 1875 to 1913, have been: 1875, J. H. Twombley; 1877, S. L. Gracey; 1880, Frederick Woods; 1882, J. A Cass; 1883, E. A. Titus; 1886, J. M. Leonard; 1889, Charles Young; 1890, Frederick Woods; 1894, L. H. Dorchester; 1899, F. N. Upham; 1900, J. D. Pickles; 1903, C. E. Davis; 1908, Philip L. Frick; 1912, Conrad Hooker.

The following interesting item is copied from the town records, illustrative of the tenacity of the hold of the old established Congregational church of New England upon its traditional prerogatives:

"May 25, 1823. Cephas Holcomb filed in the office of the Town Clerk a certificate of the following import, viz.

"We the Subscribers of the Society of the religious sect or denomination called Methodists in the Town of Westfield of County of Hampden do hereby certify that Cephas Holcomb doth belong to said Society & that he frequently & usually when able attends with us in our stated meetings for religious worship. Eager Noble, Joshua Loomis Jr., Justus Loomis, Committee said Society."

That recalls a story once told the author by that charming raconteur and illustrious citizen of Westfield, Hon. William G. Bates, as follows: A simple old fellow from the out-districts came into town one day and sought out a lawyer, to whom he declared, "I want to make an affidavit." Being questioned as to its character he affirmed, "I want to solemnly swear that I hereby abjure the christian religion and join myself to the Episcopalians."

CHAPTER VII.

The Founding of Various Churches (*Concluded*)

For more than one hundred and seventy-five years the church founded soon after the organization of the town was the only one of the Congregational order within its bounds. With the increase of its population, while the capacity of the meeting house remained as it had been since its erection fifty years earlier, about the middle of the nineteenth century, the demands of parishioners for accommodation became embarrassing. It was physically impossible to afford space for many who desired to worship within the structure which Bulfinch had designed. That fact, buttressed by no secondary consideration of personal jealousy or dissension of any kind, accounts for the organization of the Second Congregational Church.

An interesting, accurate and detailed account of its origin and subsequent history is furnished by the late Hon. Milton B. Whitney in the address which he gave on the occasion of the semi-centennial anniversary of the church. For the early days of its life he drew largely from a sketch given by Deacon Henry Hooker when its twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated. Upon the valuable data then presented by Mr. Whitney the following account will depend in large measure.

During the latter part of 1858 and the early weeks of the following year the need of greater facilities for the housing of worshipers was keenly felt, and the question of providing for them was earnestly considered. Several informal meetings of First Church people were held resulting in the conclusion that it was imperatively necessary to secure another meeting house, which should be in charge of another organization. The following paper was drawn up and circulated for signatures:

"We, the subscribers, promise to pay the sums affixed to our respective names, for the support of religious worship in Westfield, for one year; the meetings to be held at such place

or places, and such minister or ministers of the Congregational order employed, as a majority of the subscribers present at any meeting called by any five of their numbers may determine, by a notice in the village newspaper." March 1, 1856.

One hundred and thirty-nine signatures, and the sum of $1,425.25 were secured. The individual amounts pledged ranged from $50.00 to 25 cents, five persons having each promised the larger sum, N. T. Leonard, Franklin Bliss, Hiram Harrison, Cutler Laflin and Charles A. Jessup. Only the last two named finally identified themselves with the new organization.

In response to a notice in the Westfield News Letter those who had signed the paper held their first meeting on March 10, 1856. After prayer for divine blessing and guidance, Samuel Horton was chosen chairman; Henry Hooker was made secretary and Frederick Bush was made treasurer. Three committees were appointed, "the first to act as a prudential committee; the second to procure a preacher, and the third to provide singing."

Whitman Hall, since known for many years as the Opera House, on the corner of Elm and Church Streets, was hired for Saturday evenings and Sundays for a year for $200. The pastor's desk was placed upon a low platform at the western end, and the choir and organ occupied a higher platform at the eastern end. The arrangement thus made was maintained until the church building was completed five years later. That the enterprise flourished while hampered so long by the inconvenience of such quarters, so ill adapted to its requirements, is proof positive of the zeal and devotion of its supporters. The services of Rev. Frances Homes, a graduate of Amherst College and of Andover Theological Seminary, were secured until the society was formally organized a year later. The attitude of Dr. Davis, the revered and beloved pastor of the original church, toward this new undertaking was most admirable. With no consideration of the fact that it necessarily involved a weakening in numbers and resources of his own church, or the danger that it might become a rival to weaken still further his own immediate constituency, he generously promoted it to the limit of his ability. Mr. Whit-

ney, who was a participant in those early affairs, declares that Dr. Davis "gave the new movement not only his most hearty approval, but urgently pressed upon the members of his congregation the duty of engaging therein."

On Fast Day those interested in organizing a Sunday School held a meeting, and on the following Sunday a hundred members were enrolled. During the year following many more were added, and the congregations in the hall steadily increased, amply attesting the wisdom of the plan proposed. The decisive step was taken when sixty members of the old church signed a request asking for letters of dismission from its fellowship, to be presented to a council as a basis upon which a second church was to be organized. A confession of faith and a covenant were also adopted for approval by the council, which when finally called included all the churches in Hampden West Association and the church at East Longmeadow. Twelve pastors and fifteen delegates assembled on May 22, 1856, in response to the call. A sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Davis from the text, I Peter, 2:5, "Ye also as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."

After having described the origin of the enterprise he characterized it as follows: "It gives me pleasure to say on this occasion that this movement has been entirely harmonious; that those who have been dismissed from the parent church have not left it because they were disaffected toward their brethren. I am not aware that in the process of separation any root of bitterness has sprung up among us, or that there has been any other feeling among us than that of kindness and good will."

Two members of the First Church of Huntington brought letters, which were accepted, making the total charter membership sixty-two, thirty men and thirty-two women. On the evening after the dissolution of the council two deacons were chosen, Charles A. Jessup and E. L. Clark, and a standing committee was appointed.

At the end of the year of the pastorate of Mr. Homes the membership numbered eighty-nine. The Second Congregational Society was organized according to the laws of the

Commonwealth, on April 16, 1857, when the following persons were respectively elected: Lyman Dimock moderator, H. B. Lewis clerk, Samuel Horton, H. O. Clark and W. A. Reed standing committee, and Isaac Knapp treasurer and collector.

The Rev. Joel S. Bingham was installed as pastor by a council on May 11, when the sermon was preached by Rev. H. M. Parsons, pastor of the First Church, Springfield, the charge was given by Dr. Davis, and the installing prayer was offered by Dr. Cooley of East Granville. A story is told illustrative of the genial nature of Mr. Bingham and the intolerance of one of his flock. "During a period of great business depression many of the leading citizens indulged in playing baseball upon the Green. Upon one occasion Mr. Bingham, in reaching to catch a flying ball, dislocated one of his fingers. A good lady member of his church, who held strict orthodox views in regard to ministerial conduct, hearing of Mr. Bingham's accident, declared that it was a judgment upon him for indulging in the *wicked* game of baseball."

That such an intolerant spirit was not confined to that church or that year of grace is evidenced by the fact that some thirty years afterwards a pastor of the First Church who used one of the early types of a bicycle as a practical means of transport in making calls upon his parishoners was subjected to a bitter attack by one of the men of his congregation on account of his unministerial conduct. As an offset to that cruel criticism, the same pastor was cheered by the confidential confession of a highly cultivated woman of his church that she never saw him wheeling about on his bicycle without a feeling of envy and a desire to find some inclosure within a high board fence where she might practice the art of riding it.

In March, 1858, the Society of the Second Church appointed a committee "to see where and upon what terms the society can procure a site for a church." In July, 1859, it voted "to raise $13,000 for the purpose of building a house of public worship, and that the subscriptions shall not be binding till that amount is raised." A committee of women raised $1,600 to furnish carpets and cushions for the new edifice.

In October following it was voted to erect a house of public

worship of brick with two towers, under the supervision of Cutler Laflin, Allen Dean, Edwin Smith, Frederick Bush and Samuel Horton as a building committee. It was also voted to purchase the Hampden House Tavern property, on the north side of the Green, as a site for the new building. The old tavern was moved back to Thomas Street, where it still stands, with its massive pillars, a memorial to the convivialities of past generations. The total cost of the building was $18,167.47, and $4,000 for the land, after deducting the amount received for the buildings which were removed.

Rev. Mr. Homes, the former pastor, who was expected to take part in the exercises, was absent, and Rev. Mr. Cone of Chicopee took his place in the invocation and reading of the Scriptures. The introductory prayer was made by Rev. Mr. Stowell of East Granville, and the dedicatory prayer by Rev. Mr. Drummond of Springfield, the former in the place of Dr. Davis, and the latter in the place of Dr. Osgood, who were unable to be present.

It would seem as though even a society so full of youthful vigor as was that one, might have felt some exhaustion after the completion of so strenuous a task as it had just accomplished and at a time when the horrors and demands of a civil war were then pressing upon the country, but only a month after the dedication the following astonishing action was taken at a society meeting, April 22, 1861: "Whereas certain members of this Society have agreed to pay the interest on the sum of two thousand dollars for the period of three years, the principal to be expended in the erection of a Conference House for the use of the Society, it is voted that the Society proceed to build a Conference House in the rear of their Church." The building committee consisted of C. A. Jessup, C. I. Snow and C. K. Lambson.

In March, 1862, C. A. Jessup reported that the whole expense of erecting the chapel was $2,204.07. The bell, whose rich and sonorous tones still call worshipers to the house of God, was presented by two men whose gifts to the church were many and generous, C. A. Jessup, its senior deacon, and Cutler Laflin.

It was a grievous disappointment to the church to have to dismiss from its pastorate to that of the Maverick Church in

East Boston, in March, 1863, Rev. J. S. Bingham. He had received 205 members during his service in Westfield of less than six years, and left the church with a membership of 234, which had been nearly quadrupled in seven years.

In the following month, April, 1863, a council imstalled Rev. George Bowler, who had previously served for a year and a half the Methodist Episcopal church of the town, and left it to go to the front as Colonel of the 46th Massachusetts Infantry. Earlier in his career Mr. Bowler had served as a missionary in Turkey, and while in Westfield gave interesting lectures based upon his experience there.

Deacon Hooker states that Mr. Bowler during his brief pastorate was able by earnest and persistent efforts to secure $10,000 toward the reduction of the society's indebtedness. Owing to enfeebled health he felt obliged to offer his resignation in January, 1865.

Rev. Henry Hopkins, son of President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, was installed as pastor of the church on June 20, 1866. The exercises were as follows: Reading of Scripture, Rev. Roswell Foster of Chicopee; introductory prayer by Rev. D. Beals of Southwick; sermon by Rev. Mark Hopkins of Williamstown; installing prayer by Rev. P. K. Clark of West Springfield; right hand of fellowship by Rev. Joseph H. Twitchell of Hartford; address to the people by Rev. John W. Harding of Longmeadow; concluding prayer by Prof. Albert Hopkins of Williams College.

A familiar personage is missed from that list, one who had appeared as a spiritual father and brother at preceding councils called to promote the interests of the Second Church. It would have been peculiarly fitting for Dr. Emerson Davis, who had served for many years as vice-president of Williams College, to have a part in that council with the eminent father, and the saintly uncle, of the candidate for the pastorate. Only a fortnight before, however, he had suddenly dropped in his harness and passed on to his well-earned reward.

In 1869 the parsonage of the church was built on Broad Street at an expense for land and house of $10,539.45. Since then it has continued to be used as the pastor's residence.

By the will of Cutler Laflin, who died Oct. 2, 1877, the sum of $5,000 was left in trust to the church as a fund, the income

of which was to be expended for the relief of needy members of the church. It is known as "The Laflin Charity Fund."

To the deep regret of the church and the people of Westfield of all classes, Mr. Hopkins resigned in February, 1880, to accept a call to a church in Kansas City, Mo. Mr. Whitney says: "Mr. Hopkins was an able and earnest preacher, a faithful and devoted pastor, and was beloved and respected not only by the members of his church and congregation, but by the entire community. Among his chief traits of character were his sound common sense and good judgment in all practical matters. He was prominent in all measures tending to promote the social, intellectual and moral welfare of the town, and was specially interested in educational matters. He was for several years a member of the school committee, and at the time of his resignation was a director, and a member of the library committee, of the Westfield Atheneum, and a trustee of the Westfield Academy." During his pastorate of fourteen years 283 persons were added to the roll of members, the aggregate at the time of his departure having been 340.

To have enjoyed for fourteen years the efficient ministrations as pastor, citizen, friend, of a man of the type and caliber of Mr. Hopkins was a high privilege. His beneficent impress upon the community was deep and abiding.

A brief sketch of his life prior, and subsequent to, the period spent in Westfield, is worthy of a place in this history of the town.

Henry Hopkins was born in Williamstown, Nov. 30, 1837. He was graduated from Williams College in the class of 1858, then studied two years at Union Theological Seminary in New York and a year at home under the private training of his Father, the most eminent educator of the country.

In 1861, burning with patriotism and religious zeal, he received a personal commission as hospital chaplain from President Lincoln, the office not having yet been established legally by formal Congressional enactment. In that capacity he served at Alexandria, Va., until 1864, when he became chaplain in the field of the 120th regiment of New York Volunteers, and was at the front in siege work from the Rapidan to

Appomattox. He was largely influential in the promotion of legislation in behalf of the establishment of national soldiers' cemeteries. His devotion to those who had rallied to the support of the nation in her hour of peril suffered no abatement during the years following the end of the great conflict. On successive Memorial days in Westfield he always marched with his comrades to the cemetery, and was an ardent participant in all the exercises of the occasion. While living in Kansas City he was made a Chaplain of the Loyal Legion, and took an active part in the affairs of the Sons of the Revolution of Missouri. His last act as retiring president of Williams College was to present to the college a national flag, at the Alumni Dinner on Commencement Day.

His service during twenty-two years in Kansas City was of the same type as that which he had rendered to the church and the community in Westfield during the years preceding, broadened and deepened, however, as a result of the enlargement and enrichment of his own life in the new atnosphere of the West. At the conclusion of his ministry there, its high value in the estimate of the community was attested at a public dinner given to him by many of the leading citizens among whom and for whom he had been spending his life.

In 1902 Dr. Hopkins assumed the presidency of Williams College, modestly and reluctantly consenting to accept the position which his Father had adorned for thirty-six years, from 1836 to 1872.

As a preacher Dr. Henry Hopkins "was potent because of his fine personal qualities, his moral earnestness and his knowledge of men and their needs." As a friend he was valued highly for his rare spirit of sweetness and kindness by multitudes who fondly cherished him, to whom he was always "Harry," the beloved.

The estimate in which his all too brief service as president of the college was held by its trustees is evidenced by the action which they took when on July 6, 1907, he presented to them his resignation to take effect a year later.

"The trustees desire to place on their records and to express to Doctor Hopkins their profound and grateful appreciation of the extended and very valuable work which has been accomplished in all departments under his administration." After

having enumerated many vast and notable betterments in material equipment, new buildings erected and old ones modernized, the statement continues to conclusion as follows: "Far more important, however, than this outward improvement, the best traditions and highest ideals of the college in respect to culture and character have been steadily maintained; courtesy, self-respect and seriousness have prevailed, and there has existed a spirit of harmony, conciliation and co-operation for the truest ends among trustees, faculty, students and alumni. All this has been largely due to the genuineness, sagacity, tact, saving common sense, abounding patience and unfailing charity of President Hopkins. The generous and charming hospitality of his home has been freely extended to all friends of Williams. His gracious presence has been a benediction and tower of strength to the College. Son of the most distinguished single figure in the history of the College—a name almost synonymous with the College itself—he has worthily sustained the spirit and traditions of the great name in the responsible service which he has faithfully rendered to his alma mater. Declaring with characteristic simplicity when his name was first suggested for the office of president his earnest desire that some one else should be chosen, he yet, when the duty was clearly laid upon him by the unanimous judgment of his associates, took up the burden of the office and carried it with devoted loyalty and unaffected modesty. Following the example of his illustrious Father, and for similar reasons, he now lays down this burden in the same quiet and pious spirit. The College has become his great debtor; his name will stand with distinction in her shining annals, and he has made for himself an enduring place in the admiration, gratitude and affection of all her admiring sons."

Dr. Hopkins received the degree of D.D. from his alma mater and that of LL.D. from both Amherst and Marietta. For many years he was vice-president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the magnificent organization of which his Father was so long president. He was also vice-president of the American Missionary Association, and a trustee of Williams College. He died at Rotterdam, Holland, Aug. 18, 1908.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Second Church was observed by appropriate exercises on October 27, 1881.

In the following month Rev. Lyman H. Blake of Boston was called to the pastorate. He was installed by a council Dec. 6, 1881.

The fortieth anniversary of the founding of the church was observed on October 30 of that year. On Sunday evening, Nov. 1, a fellowship meeting was held, the speakers being Rev. John H. Lockwood of the First church, Rev. R. B. Estin of the Baptist church, Rev. J. B. Reardon of the Universalist church and Rev. L. H. Dorchester of the Methodist church.

The resignation of Mr. Blake took effect August 1, 1899, and he was duly dismissed by a council held on June 6 of that year. During his pastorate of nearly eighteen years, 367 persons were admitted to the church, and the total membership on Dec. 27, 1899, was 416. Mr. Blake died on October 12, 1900.

Rev. W. C. Gordon, Ph.D., entered upon his duties as pastor on Sept. 21, 1899. Recognition services, taking the place of a council, were held on January 12, 1900, with sermon by Dr. J. H. Barrows of Oberlin, Ohio; charge to the pastor by Rev. C. O. Eames of Becket; right hand of fellowship by the Rev. John H. Lockwood of Westfield.

A mortgage debt of the society amounting to $7,258.45 was raised, and the deed was publicly burned on Dec. 10, 1903.

An elaborate celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the church was begun on Thursday evening, December 27, 1906, when Hon. M. B. Whitney read his valuable historical address. On the following evening a banquet was served in the conference house to more than 400 members of the church and congregation, followed by toasts and addresses, Mr. Henry W. Ely acting as toastmaster.

On the following Sunday morning, President Henry Hopkins of Williams College preached, taking as his text, Matthew 18:20, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The First church united in the evening service, and presented congratulatory addresses through its pastor, Rev. Henry M. Dyckman, and its pastor emeritus, Rev. John H. Lockwood of Springfield. That of the latter, voicing the ideal relationship of the two

churches to each other and to the Kingdom of Christ in the world, is here given permanent record:

"This is another case of gathering for ancient memories. Dearly beloved friends, I need not remind you that a half century in this new country, in the life of any organization, is a long period. It is two full generations of ordinary human life. The grandparents of those who are now bearing much of the heat and the burdens of the day in this church were the organizers and leaders of those early days. It has been my high privilege to know personally, in kindly and friendly christian fellowship, many of those early leaders; men whose names are synonymous with worthy living, noble striving, generous sacrificing. It is a matter of peculiar interest to us that even now we have present some fine samples of those pioneers of the early days of this church. What a glorious company of apostles and disciples has this church enlisted and trained and directed in the varied activities of christian service during this half century! To such as have passed on beyond, to such as are here and now struggling and sacrificing exultantly to maintain interest in this church and to increase its usefulness, to one and all, I esteem it a high honor and great privilege, to bring greetings of the loving mother church of Westfield. Brothers and sisters in Christ Jesus, bound to us by so many ties, with whom we are truly one in Christ Jesus, hail, all hail! God speed you! You have wrought by our side and it has been a privilege to have you there. You have been doing the Master's work in many ways and it has been a delight to us to feel that you had with us so much in common. Do not forget, dear friends, that from the beginning more or less remote, during so long a period, you and we have the same heritage. Going no further back than the original institutions of this community, the infancy of this town in the wilderness, you and we have a common heritage. During those long years when the little flock in the wilderness was trembling before many a danger, when they could not plant their few acres with any confidence of being able to gather the harvest, during those years your forbears and ours were standing here to do God's will. Yours is that heritage of the early colonial days. We are called upon to maintain the institutions which they had come over sea to

establish. Your heritage as well as ours includes the heroic living of revolutionary days. Yours as well as ours is the heritage of the six generations of ministers, saintly, holy, devoted men, who served God and this community for 195 years with such a wondrous success. In 1856, a half century ago, you in the spirit of self-sacrifice, came forth from the friends of the mother church to start a new organization. Since those days how close have been our relations. Side by side we have stood and wrought together here in this community for its welfare. Heart to heart, and shoulder to shoulder we have helped to build up righteousness. Side by side we have looked out over this vast national domain and sought to solve Home Missionary problems. Side by side we have taken the further world-wide look over the nations enjoying less of light than we, and sought to encourage our agents and ministers as they have shown Christ with His light and life and love, to peoples of many kindreds and lands! And now, what of the future? What are the lessons we are to learn from the past? Whatever of good there has been in it, let us seek to make it better. This accord that has been so true, so loving, so real, let us make it more true, more loving, more real. No success can come to you that isn't our success. No failure can come to you that isn't our failure. We are both bone of the Master's bone and flesh of His flesh. It is because of that relationship that every plan and effort, every thought and purpose, which we cherish, every estimate that we make of ourselves and each other, must be considered in its relationship to the Kingdom of Christ, in our community and in the world. It is as we succeed in doing what shall be for the welfare of that Kingdom, that we shall be glad. For many a year I have cherished a dream of which your pastor spoke, a dream that the union of these two churches shall sometime be manifest in form as well as in spirit so that more truly still, we shall be no longer twain but one flesh. I trust that that day may come in God's time, and in His way, and under His guidance and that my dream may be fulfilled. God speed you, dearly beloved, and keep us all true to Him and to His cause, and may all that we have, and all that we become, be treated and used as His always."

Rev. Mr. Gordon resigned early in 1908, and was suc-

ceeded a few months later by Rev. Walter H. Commons, whose pastorate extended over a little more than two years.

Rev. C. E. Holmes was called from a Methodist church in Northampton and began his work as pastor of the Second Church on April 16, 1911, which he has prosecuted during the ensuing years with fidelity and ability.

The following historical sketch of "The Advent Christian Church of Westfield," taken from its manual, was prepared by the Rev. H. W. Hewitt.

"The first public service held in Westfield by the Advent Christian people occurred in the year 1856. Meetings were then held here and in Wyben at varying intervals until the year 1866, when a mission church was organized. But it remained for Elder H. L. Hastings, the well known writer and publisher of Boston, to set in order the first genuine Adventist organization in Westfield. The church was organized on January 4, 1869, and was known as 'The Church of Christ.' The name of this body was later changed to 'The Advent Christian Church of Westfield, Mass.' Twenty-four persons united to form the charter membership of the new church, of whom but four or five are now living. Their names were as follows: E. Owen, Fred Owen, Dwight Fields, Edwin Phelps, A. E. Phelps, Charles A. Phelps, Enoch Phelps, Thomas R. Phelps, Otis R. Reed, E. A. Egleston, Joshua McIntyre, Addison Noble, Mrs. A. E. Phelps, Mrs. M. A. Owen, Mrs. Edwin Phelps, Mrs. Thos. R. Phelps, Mrs. C. A. Phelps, Mrs. Otis R. Reed, Mrs. Lucy Noble, Mrs. Elmira Loomis, Mrs. Eliza Belden, Mrs. Lavinia McIntyre, Miss Julia Lloyd, Miss Laura Kent.

"Elder George L. Teeple was the first regularly elected pastor of the church, beginning his services with the church on Jan. 1, 1872. He served the church but one year. During this and the succeeding year the meetings were held in the White Chapel of Chapel Street. In the year 1874 the brick edifice on School Street was erected, and the church organization incorporated under the laws of the State of Massachusetts.

"During the period from 1875 to 1908 the following ministers served the church in the capacity of pastor: Dr. James Hemenway, William C. Stewart, S. G. Mathewson, Dr. D.

Matheson, J. E. Cross, John St. John, M. E. Andrews, George M. Little, A. H. Bissell and F. W. Richardson.

"Seasons of trial and of discouragement have overtaken the church, but there were also seasons of widespread revival interest and of genuine prosperity during the years above mentioned.

"Rev. A. C. Johnson began his services as pastor of the church on Dec. 12, 1908. During Mr. Johnson's pastorate the commodious and attractive church edifice on Washington Street, near Court, was erected at a cost of $20,000, and dedicated on April 20, 1915. Mr. Johnson closed his labors with the church on the second Sunday in September, 1916. Mr. Hewitt, the present pastor, preached his first sermon on Sunday, Nov. 12, 1916, coming to Westfield from Aurora, Ill.

"Among those who have served the church at intervals during its history and who have been widely known as Christian workers, may be mentioned Rev. H. L. Hastings, Miles Grout, Charles Goodrich, Albion Ross, Hiram Munger, Mrs. M. McKinstry, Enoch and A. E. Phelps and others. At least four members of this church have been ordained to the Christian ministry, and one has been licensed to preach the gospel. The church has always taken a deep interest in all matters affecting the good name and welfare of Westfield and every organized effort to advance the interests of the people of Westfield may be assured of the active support of the people of this church."

The appended lists of members show aggregates respectively, of 96 resident and 31 non-resident.

The following historical data relative to the Episcopal Church have been furnished by the Rev. Robert Keating Smith, rector since 1906, who has approved himself a broad-minded and public spirited citizen while being zealous in performing the distinctive duties of his sacred office.

A sketch from "The Pastoral Staff," Trinitytide, 1913, supplies the outlines of its history: "The Fiftieth Anniversary of Westfield. When, in the eighteenth century, the Rev. Roger Viets was rector of old St. Peter's Church, Granby, Conn., he came up into Southwick occasionally to hold services for some church families in that town. In this way Westfield church people were kept in touch with the sacraments

and liturgy, the parish of Southwick resulted, and a church was built in conjunction with the Methodists. Either in Southwick or in St. Mark's Church, Blandford, therefore, were recorded the names of the earliest churchmen of Westfield. The efforts of various zealous priests of the church to bring her services to Westfield all failed to bear fruit, from the coming of the Rev. H. H. Bates from Blandford to preach about the year 1843 and thereafter for twenty years. The Rev. Mr. Huntington of Great Barrington, the Rev. William Childs of Springfield, and the Rev. Edward Jessup of Brooklyn, New York, all visited the town and held services in some parlor or hall. There lived in Westfield, however, two young men of old families in the town, who had become converted to the church. These were Emerson Jessup and Benjamin F. Cooley, and both later entered the ministry of the church. These two, independently of one another, labored at about the same time for the church. Men of different views, of the most diverse types of churchmanship, it must be said nevertheless that it was due to their efforts that the church was at length planted in the town. It is remarkable that the Westfield parish was not introduced from a neighboring parish as a mission, but grew up of its own efforts, largely unaided, struggling against odds, combating prejudice, and with no church people of means in the town.

"On May 27, 1863, a meeting was called of 'all interested in the services of the Episcopal Church, and particularly those desiring the formation of a church.' The first Sunday service was held June 24, 1863, and on July 1 the parish was organized as The Church of the Atonement. A chapel belonging to the Universalists was rented, and a bishop's chair was made by Mr. James E. Wetmore, a font was given by the Rev. Mr. Prescott, and a Bible presented, all of which are still in use. Within two years, two priests having served as rectors, the parish apparently perished. Services were discontinued after April 17, 1865, although on Oct. 2, 1864, Bishop Eastburn had visited the parish and confirmed a class of twelve persons.

"Seven years went by, and in the summer of 1872, Miss Fanny H. Greenwood, 22 years of age, 'laboring and longing for the Church,' made a visit to Adams and persuaded the Rev.

John Frank Winkley that there was a more promising work for him in Westfield. Miss Greenwood died March 8, 1873, just before Mr. Winkley came. On March 30, services were begun once more, with financial aid from the diocese, and from that time on the services of the church have never lapsed. During forty years, fifteen priests have ministered to the parish with varying fortune.

"In the year 1879 the Rev. Henry J. Sheridan, a young man in deacon's orders, was sent to Westfield. The people were fired by his enthusiasm, and the present church, a brick structure, was built. The Rev. H. N. Cunningham, another strong man, followed him, and then the Rev. Allan C. Prescott, under whose guidance the parish strode quickly toward self-support. Mr. Prescott remained seven years, and after his resignation, Westfield lapsed to another discouraging struggle for existence.

"The present priest in charge has been in residence now seven years. The tide seems to have turned, and there is every encouragement for a priest to remain. The cornerstone of the church edifice on King Street was laid on May 15, 1880, and the first service in it was held on Good Friday, April 15, 1881. After two years of hard work, every one earning and giving money to pay for the new building, even those outside generously contributing, the Parish church, at last completed and paid for, was consecrated May 24, 1882, a dignified, permanent and churchly little edifice, to represent in the town of Westfield the great church of the English-speaking people.

"Extensive repairs of the church building have recently been made with gratifying results.

"Recently the following action was taken formally enlarging the sphere of influence of the Rector at Westfield: 'The Bishop and the Board of Missions have assigned to the Missionary at Westfield the rural missionary district comprising the townships of Southwick, Granville, Russell and Blandford, covering about 150 square miles. In this district, 183 families have been carded by the Diocesan Missionary, and 156 children and 44 adults baptised. Westfield is the natural trade center of these towns, and it is thought that the Mission in Westfield may be able to reach out to these people

who have signified their desire to have the Sacraments and instruction of the Church. It is interesting to observe that Church people in Westfield looked for their spiritual help a hundred years ago to "The First Episcopal Church" in Southwick, and eighty years ago to "St. Mark's Church," Blandford, both of which ceased to exist before the middle of the last century.' "

The following data, supplementing and amplifying the account already given, have been furnished by Rev. Mr. Smith: "I have just come upon an authentic copy of extracts from the parish records of the Blandford church, and find that in 1799 was organized and incorporated by Legislature, 'The Protestant Episcopal Society of Blandford and towns adjoining.' There were over 115 male members, and later 19 more were added. The district covered Westfield. In 1845 Rev. H. H. Bates, rector of St. Mark's, Blandford, came down to Westfield and held services. Again, the Rev. H. H. Bates (I get this from a letter that I have) came up from Tariffville, Conn., where he had gone from Blandford, in 1856 and held services in the vestry room of the Methodist church. The old records of Blandford show that the rector of St. Mark's church there was resident in Blandford during the summer and in Granby, Conn., in the winter. He went back and forth between Granby and Blandford through Southwick. The old church building in the southern part of Southwick was built by the Methodists and Episcopalians of Southwick, and was first served by Rev. Roger Viets of Granby. Most of the Episcopalians of Blandford, Otis, New Boston, etc., went west to Ohio and Indiana. But the actual history of the Episcopal church in Westfield is undoubtedly continuous through the Protestant Episcopal society of Blandford and towns adjoining. We still hold title to the lot of land on North Street, Blandford, where the old St. Mark's church stood. (I possess a copy of the deed.) The existence of the 'First Episcopal Church of Southwick' is also authentic, and appears thus in the old printed reports of the Diocesan Journal of Massachusetts."

For an outline sketch of the Roman Catholic church in Westfield up to the year 1900 we are indebted to Rev. John J. McCoy, P.R., who published a comprehensive "History of

the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Springfield," dedicated to the Bishop, Right Rev. Thomas D. Beaven, D.D. From that valuable work the subjoined facts are garnered.

It cannot be accurately determined when the first mass in the town was said. It is known Father Fitton visited there as a missionary between 1828 and 1830. Father John Brady of Hartford visited the Catholic workmen from section to section during the period of building the New Haven and Northampton canal, begun in 1826 and opened for traffic in 1829. It is most probable that masses were said in Westfield during that period. Among the earliest known Catholic residents are James Philips, Thomas Hearns, Cornelius O'Keefe, John and Philip Reilly, William Sullivan, William Callinan, John O'Neil, and John Healy, who came in 1840. The others arrived about the same time. Alice Sheridan was the first Catholic woman known to have lived in town. She became the wife of John O'Neil, included in the list above, who was drowned in Southwick ponds while bringing up the last boat which reached Westfield. Miss Cratty, who became Mrs. Burgess, Mrs. Hickey and Mary Carroll arrived at about that time.

According to tradition masses were said here by Father John D. Brady of Cabotsville from 1841 to his death in 1847, also by his assistant, Father Bernard O'Cavanaugh, and his successor in the pastorate of Chicopee, Father Strain.

The first mass of which there is definite record was said by Father William Blenkinsop of Chicopee, at a service held in the town hall in November, 1851, with a congregation present of about 150 people.

"Thereafter the Catholics gathered for mass whenever it was possible for the priest to come, in the house of some one of their own people: and Sundays when he could not come they convened of their own accord and said the rosary and the litanies in common."

A movement in favor of purchasing the old Methodist church building on Main Street received enthusiastic support but met with opposition too strong to be overcome. James Philips was very active in efforts to secure a site, and with $350 contributed by Protestant friends in 1853 he purchased the lot where during the following year the frame of

the structure was put up, the roof shingled and the sides roughly boarded in.

"The vigil of Christmas came that year on Sunday, and the poor people had the inexpressible delight of hearing mass for the first time in their new church." Father Blenkinsop of Chicopee officiated on that significant occasion.

A thrilling incident which nearly resulted in a horrible tragedy attended the construction of the edifice. During the period the Know-nothing party created violent disturbances in various parts of the country. Inflamed by a local publication called the "Wide Awake American" which called attention to the fact that a certain "Red School House" was used on Sundays by the Catholics for the teaching of the catechism to children, several hot-heads threatened to burn the unfinished church. For several nights it was watched by William Sullivan, one of the teachers, Cornelius Donovan and others. "On the eve of July 4th an organized body formed for the purpose of burning the church, and marched in its direction. The Catholic men hastened for the defense and in grim determination waited. When near the church, Mr. Hiram Hull, who was then a selectman of the town, stopped the mob and ordered them to desist from their intention. 'There will be bloodshed,' said he; and there would have been. The mob was turned from its object, and with ribald cries and wild shouts betook themselves elsewhere. The Catholics were never afterwards molested. On the other hand, there has been no time in the church's history when Protestant neighbors have failed, by kind words and generous help, to encourage all the good that Catholic hearts and minds could plan."

In June, 1855, Bishop Fitzpatrick of Boston, accompanied by Father Blenkinsop of Chicopee and Fathers Cudihy and Purcell of Pittsfield, confirmed the first class. John Healy, who had been one of the Sunday school teachers, though then in the last stages of consumption, insisted on witnessing the confirmation of his four children. He died soon afterward, and was the first to be buried in the parish cemetery, which had been purchased a short time previously.

After Westfield had become a mission of Springfield, Fathers Reardon, Dougherty and Gallagher attended in turn to the

spiritual needs of the people, coming once each month until 1862, when Rev. M. K. Carroll, who had been Father Gallinger's assistant in Springfield, became the first resident pastor.

Among some Italian priests who had come to Boston with ardent wishes for missionary labor was Father Dominick Miglionico, who succeeded Father Carroll in the Westfield church in 1868, leaving there July 1, 1874, to return to Italy. On that very day Rev. Thomas Smythe took his place. "Young, capable and zealous, with all the traditional prudence of the Irish priest, he was affable and gentle-mannered, yet firm and masterful when there was need. The people soon learned to respect him, and the years increased the respect and won him love. In a short time he had the parish united as one man; and the union remained unimpaired till his promotion to Springfield, Aug. 14, 1891." As pastor of the influential Sacred Heart church he is still maintaining his usefulness after 28 years of service. He was an efficient member of the school board of Westfield, having been first elected by the joint convention of the selectmen and school board to fill the unexpired term of the late Hon. James R. Dunbar, who had just been appointed a Judge of the Superior Court.

The original St. Mary's church building had been enlarged by Father Miglionico, who added a sanctuary and vestry, and who had also built a presbytery and bought from the Gracia family land adjoining the property. A disaster befell the parish in March, 1881, when the church was destroyed by fire. But, as often happens, the trial proved a disguised blessing. James Murphy of Providence was secured as architect, additional land where the parochial house now stands was purchased of L. B. Walkley, a handsome brick structure, far more commodious and pretentious than the old wooden one, was rushed to completion, and the first mass was said in the basement on Christmas day of that year. The new building was dedicated by Bishop O'Reilly on March 1, 1885.

Various additions to the real estate held by the church were made from time to time; a parcel in the rear of the church was bought in Father Miglionico's time from the Lamberton estate for $2,500; the Harrigan property on Mechanic Street was bought by Father Smythe in 1884; he also bought of

Mrs. Hattie (Neal) O'Brien the land whereon stands the parochial school built by Rev. James Donohue in 1898. Three houses stood upon it, one of which became the convent, and the other two were moved to make room for the school.

Father Donohue was pastor from 1891 to 1908. The present incumbent over that church is Father George M. Fitzgerald, who began his work there in that year.

Other Catholic parishes are the following: Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament, 2 Princeton Street, established in 1910; present rector, Rev. Patrick J. O'Malley. St. Peter's (Slovak), 22 State Street; rector, Rev. Francis A. Cerny. St. Casimir's (Lithuanian), Parkside Avenue; rector, Rev. Kostantinus Vasilauskas.

There are besides, a Jewish Synagogue, 34 Summer Street; rabbi, David B. Averon, and Wyben Union Chapel Association, Edgar P. Morgan, clerk.

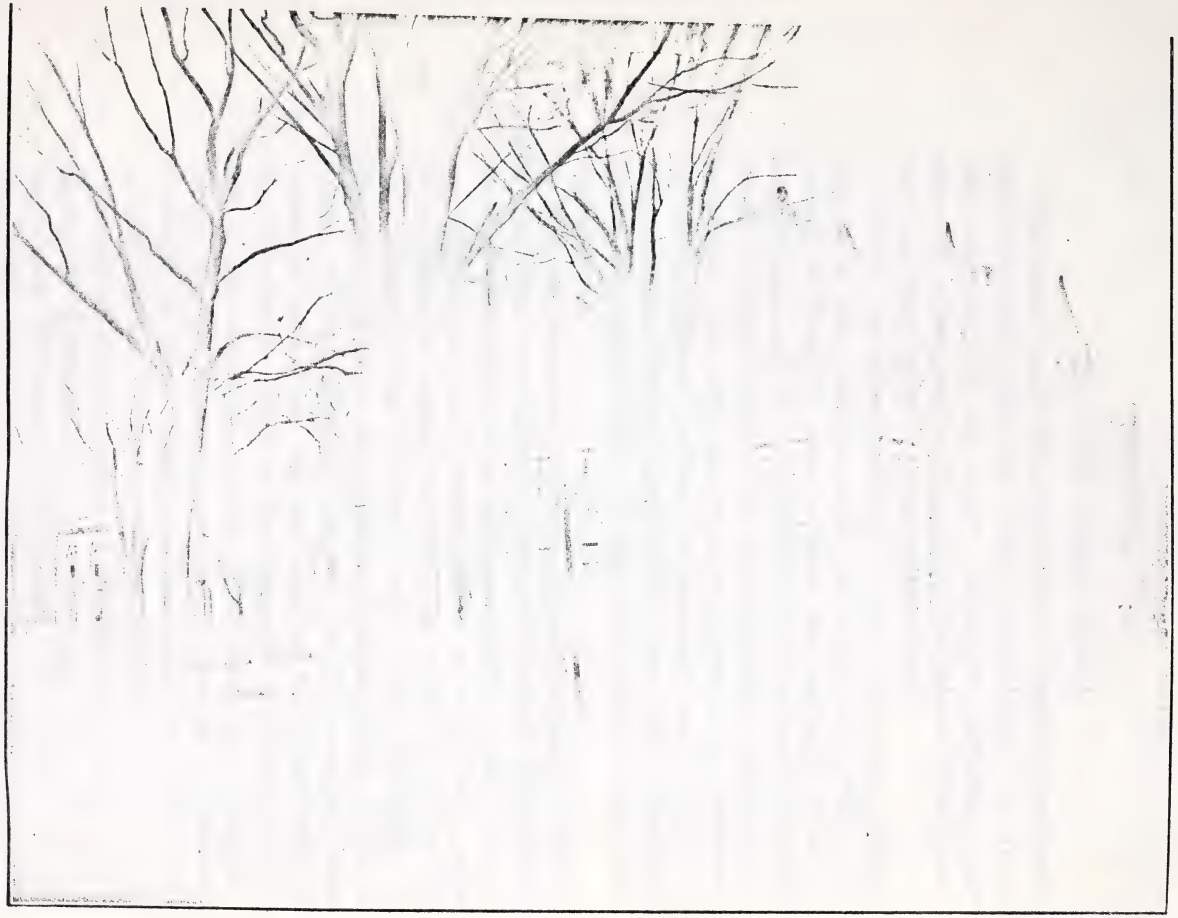
A Universalist church was organized in 1853 with Rev. D. H. Plumb as pastor. In 1889 an attractive edifice was erected on the corner of Elm and Thomas Streets, which in 1909 was sold to the Masonic order. For several years before the church discontinued holding services the Rev. Lucy A. Milton served it most acceptably as pastor. It is very unfortunate that the records of the church have been lost, and diligent search has failed to discover them.

The Rev. Adolph Dasler furnishes the following account of the Lutheran Church: "In the spring of 1900 Rev. L. A. Linn took over the mission here, being the successor of Rev. Moenkemoeller. The local congregation called Rev. L. A. Linn to Westfield, who, having accepted the call, was installed here Nov. 20, 1910. Rev. A. Dasler of Scranton, Pa., succeeded Rev. Linn here, and was installed April 22d, 1917. The congregation consists now of 290 communicant members, and has 525 souls belonging to it. The languages in which the gospel is preached in St. John's are English, Polish and German. The Sunday School and Bible Class are conducted in English only.

"St. John's German Polish Evangelical Lutheran Church, Unaltered Augsburg Confession, was organized April 12th, 1901, and incorporated on Sept. 15, 1905. The laying of the corner stone for the church took place Jan. 20, 1907, and

on July 28, 1907, the building was dedicated. The congregation built a parsonage in 1910. Fire destroyed the old church in February, 1916. The same year the new, enlarged and improved church was dedicated. The first preaching of a Lutheran pastor in town was in August, 1897. Rev. August Brunn of Holyoke preached in German, and from January, 1898, also Rev. C. L. Orbach of New York came here and preached in Polish. In August, 1898, Rev. W. Moenkemoeller, then Lutheran pastor in Springfield, took over the Mission here."

Completing the record of the pastorates of the First church: Rev. Elias H. Richardson was installed in 1867 and resigned in 1872 to go to Hartford, Conn. Rev. A. Judson Titsworth was installed in 1873 and resigned in 1878 to go to Chelsea. Rev. John H. Lockwood was installed May, 14, 1879, and retiring from the active pastorate was made pastor emeritus, May 14, 1906. Rev. Henry M. Dyckman was installed in 1907 and resigned in 1918 to go to Scarsdale, N. Y. Rev. Henry A. Kernan was installed June 11, 1919.



THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL BUILDING ON COURT STREET

Beyond is the First Church parsonage, the home of the [illegible]

CHAPTER VIII.

The State Normal School

The two articles in "Hampden County," dealing respectively with "Education" and the "State Normal School" in Westfield, prepared by Dr. James Carruthers Greenough, are scholarly and exhaustive, from which the present writer gratefully and freely draws in preparing this sketch.

During the second century of our history the primary schools of our Commonwealth, including those within the bounds of Westfield, were far from that degree of efficiency in equipment and in the quality of their teaching force which would have been demanded to meet the needs of an adequate education. Nor were the statutory demands for secondary schools maintained forcefully or practically met except in a few instances. Indeed, in the early years of the nineteenth century only seven towns were actually obliged to meet those requirements.

Had not the country ministers in many instances included in their work as religious teachers and leaders, the exacting tasks of instructing young men committed to their care in the higher branches of learning so far as to fit their pupils for admission to college, the situation would have been far more desperate than it actually was. Parson Ballantine of Westfield had many such resident students during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. But far exceeding them in number were those who later repaired to the parsonage of Dr. Timothy M. Cooley on East Granville hill during the first half of the succeeding century. Respecting that invaluable service to the cause of secondary education, he declares, "Probably as many as 800 have been under my tuition, and as many as 60 or 70 have entered the ministry."

In regard to the condition of the schools in his own youth during the Revolutionary period he says, "The only school books were Dillworth's spelling book, the primer, and the Bible. The furniture, as I recollect, was a chair for the master, a hickory and a ferule. Reading, spelling, a few business rules

of arithmetic, the catechism, and writing legibly, was the amount of school education for sons, and for daughters still less. The luxury of a slate and pencil I never enjoyed till I entered college. Previous to 1796 no academy existed in Western Massachusetts except a well endowed institution at Williamstown."

This interesting man was born in Granville in 1772, was graduated at Yale in 1792, ordained over his home church in 1796, and continued to labor there until his death in 1854, a pastorate about equaling in length that of Rev. Edward Taylor of Westfield a century and a quarter earlier.

In 1797 the State inaugurated a policy of establishing academies, and within 50 years such institutions were provided for in 88 towns: "These academies secured permanent teachers of fine scholarship and generous culture. If these teachers did not introduce new and better methods of teaching, they taught with a thoroughness not to be expected in the district school." Thus before the establishment of normal schools for the specific object of training teachers the academies did much to supply a crying need of them.

Soon after the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there was quickened a new interest in common school education in Massachusetts, leading the country in that essential matter. It has been said, "to James Carter of Lancaster, Mass., belongs the honor of first attracting attention to the decadence of the public schools, the extent of it, the curse of it, and the remedy for it." Largely due to his strenuous efforts by pen, by popular addresses, and by appeals in the Legislature, in which he was seconded by Governor Everett, Josiah Quincy and others, there was created a school fund in 1834 and a board of education in 1837, at the first meeting of which Horace Mann was chosen secretary, who fought successfully the battle of education and established a standard from which the state has never receded since his day.

Mr. Carter failed by but one vote of securing a legislative appropriation for the establishment of a normal school ten years before the appointment of the board of education. It was left to Edmund Dwight of Springfield, one of the first members of that board, to secure such action by his munificent offer of $10,000 for such purpose on condition that the Legis-

lature should vote a similar amount. On April 19, 1838, such an appropriation was made.

In the year following, 1839, two normal schools were opened, one in Lexington and one in Barre, the first in America. Dr. Greenough has ample justification for the statement, "Normal schools have developed new and better methods of teaching, nourished professional enthusiasm, led to a higher appreciation of teaching, helped teachers to form higher ideals, and through their influence on the schools have proved that they are essential to any well-ordered system of public instruction."

In laying out a course of instruction in these pioneer normal schools the board decided to begin with orthography, reading, writing, English grammar and arithmetic, the course prescribed by law for the district schools, and "when these are thoroughly mastered, those of a higher order will be progressively taken."

Further announcement was made to the effect that "any person wishing to remain at the school more than one year, in order to increase his qualifications for teaching a public school, may do so, having first obtained the consent of the Principal; and therefore a further course of study is marked out. The whole course, properly arranged, is as follows: 1, orthography, reading, grammar, composition and rhetoric, logic; 2, writing and drawing; 3, arithmetic, mental and written, algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, navigation, surveying; 4, geography, ancient and modern, with chronology, statistics and general history; 5, physiology; 6, mental philosophy; 7, music; 8, constitution and history of Massachusetts and of the United States; 9, natural philosophy and astronomy; 10, natural history; 11, the principles of piety and morality common to all sects of Christians; 12, the science and art of teaching with reference to all the above named studies. A portion of the Scriptures shall be read daily in every normal school. A selection from the above course of studies will be made for those who are to remain at the school but one year, according to the particular kind of school it may be their intention to teach."

Provision was made to have attached to each normal school "an experimental or model school" where pupils could apply their knowledge and be trained and practiced in the

art of teaching. The man appointed to be the first principal of the Barre school was called from the professorship of rhetoric and political economy in Bowdoin College, Samuel P. Newman.

A year after the opening of the Barre school the third Normal school of the State was opened at Bridgewater, and Nicholas Tillinghast, a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, who had seen five years of service in the west and south and had taught natural sciences and ethics at West Point for six years, was urged by Horace Mann to become its principal and finally accepted the position. The fact that preliminary to assuming his duties there he chose to spend six months at Barre to study methods and plan his work is a tribute to Mr. Newman and the high character of the institution under his charge, so soon after the school had begun its career.

The substitution of Marcus Morton for Edward Everett as Governor gave the friends of the more liberal and advanced type of education ground for gravest solicitude, originating in the veiled significance of certain clauses in his inaugural address. He said with unjustifiable complacency, "The system of free schools which has been transmitted from generation to generation has improved in its progress, and is now in a high degree of perfection," a statement which actual facts most emphatically belied. He also said of the common schools, "In the town and district meetings, those little pure democracies, where our citizens first learn the rudiments and the practical operations of free institutions, may safely and rightly be placed the direction and the government of these invaluable seminaries." That was a covert hint of action soon afterward taken which if it had been carried to successful issue would have relegated educational affairs to the condition which had prevailed in the dark period preceding 1837.

By vote of the House, passed on March 3, 1840, the committee on education was ordered to consider the expediency of abolishing the board of education and the normal schools. In response thereto, the committee presented a majority report setting forth various grievances, among them the following that "if the board of education has any power, it is a dangerous power, trenching directly upon the rights and duties of the legislature: if it has no power why continue its existence

at the expense of the commonwealth? * * The establishment of the board of education seems to be the beginning of a system of centralization and monopoly of power in a few hands, contrary in every respect to the true spirit of our democratic institutions; and which, unless speedily checked, may lead to unlooked-for and dangerous results."

Adding much more of a similar hostile character, the report was concluded with the presentation of a bill entitled, "An act to abolish the board of education," including provisions for the abolishment of normal schools and for the return to Edmund Dwight of the sum of $10,000 which he had contributed to promote the plan for qualifying teachers for common schools. The fight was on; the despicable attempt thus made by the conservative reactionaries to rob the broad-minded friends of advanced education of the fruits of their heroic endeavors, seemed for several days about to succeed, "but a minority report by John A. Shaw, member of the House from Bridgewater, and Thomas A. Greene, ably supported by documents from George B. Emerson and by other evidence of the excellent work of the normal schools, seems to have restored the good sense of the legislature. The bill reported by a majority of the committee was defeated by a vote of 182 to 148." A renewed attempt made in the following year to abolish the board of education failed signally, and never has been repeated. The death in 1842 of Principal Newman of the Barre school was a severe blow to the institution, and left its affairs in a critical state, resulting in its suspension. During the three years of its operation 165 pupils had been in attendance, 75 of them young men.

The board of education, realizing the need of a location for the school which should be more accessible to pupils in the western part of the State, began to canvass possible sites. Among the towns which attempted to secure the school was Westfield, which urged as a strong argument in its favor its location on the great highway, the Western railroad. Dr. Greenough says, "The two men most active and influential, it seems, in bringing the school to Westfield, were Rev. Emerson Davis, a member of the board of education when it was first organized, and Hon. William G. Bates, at this time also a member of the board. These men pledged money in aid of the

school and secured subscriptions from others. The writer recalls a conversation with Mr. Bates in which he said that at the close of a hot summer day spent in the trial of cases in the court room in Springfield he learned that those who had the matter in immediate charge were about to locate the school in some other town than Westfield. "Not having time," said he, "to obtain a change of linen even, I took the cars for Boston and staid there until it was decided that the normal school should be located in Westfield." What financial inducements his devotion to his town led him to make, we know not. We may be sure, however, that the man who was then the acknowledged leader of the Hampden bar did not fail to accumulate arguments with skill and to enforce them with power."

The fact that Dr. Davis was in Westfield and might be prevailed upon to take charge of the school until a suitable principal could be obtained, received due consideration.

The effort was crowned with success, and the school in its new home was reopened Sept. 4, 1844, sheltered by the walls of the Westfield academy, and at the close of the first year it was removed to rooms which had been fitted up for it in the new Town Hall. The teaching force consisted of Dr. Davis principal, and William Clough first assistant, a Yale graduate who remained but one year. Twenty-six young women and twenty-three young men constituted the first body of students in the new location. Mr. Clough's place was filled by P. K. Clarke from the same college, who had served there for a time as tutor. The promise that Dr. Davis would supply valuable support to the school was amply fulfilled. He was in attendance a part of every day, teaching classes and giving some lectures. "His large acquaintance with educational affairs, his practical skill, and his abounding common sense and good judgment proved of great value to the school during this somewhat trying period of its history. During all the subsequent years of his life the school had no stronger or more helpful friend than Dr. Davis."

The quarters in the town hall were poorly adapted to meet the general requirements of the school, and efforts were inaugurated to secure a proper building. Several public-spirited citizens of Boston agreed during the year 1845 to

raise $5,000 for the purpose of erecting two normal school buildings, one at Bridgewater and one at Westfield, on condition that the Legislature would appropriate a like sum for the purpose, which it proceeded to do. The share which fell to Westfield was supplemented by various contributions from several citizens, James Fowler, Esq., having given the lot on Washington Street, upon which a substantial brick building of two stories was erected. The building at Bridgewater was of wood, and at its dedication on Aug. 19, 1846, Hon. William G. Bates gave the address. On the third day of the following month the address at the dedication of the Westfield building was delivered by President Humphrey of Amherst College.

The building which seemed so elegant at that time, seems to us, familiar with elaborate modern school structures, very modest and rude, though built of brick, 83 feet long and 40 feet wide, with four Ionic columns, and an entrance at either end. The lot extended from School Street to Church Street at the corner of Washington Street, where the handsome model school now stands.

The News Letter speaks of it as a "beautiful edifice" and "a most elegant building," with two large and beautiful rooms elegantly finished in each story. "In addition to these there are two recitation rooms; also rooms for apparatus, libraries, etc." Mr. David S. Rowe, A.M., was to be in charge, a most successful teacher in Pittsfield, a graduate of Bowdoin College.

Exercises at the dedication in the afternoon at Normal Hall, Governor Briggs presiding as chairman of the board of education: dedicatory prayer by Rev. Emerson Davis; dedication hymn by a double quartette; adjourned to the M. E. church for Doctor Humphrey's address and an ode sung to the tune, "Pirate's Glee." In the evening at the M. E. church: prayer by Rev. Mark Trafton; addresses by Hon. Horace Mann, secretary of the board, Adjutant General Oliver, Hon. William G. Bates, Rev. Dr. Sears of Newton Theological Seminary and Mr. A. Parish of Springfield, formerly Preceptor of Westfield Academy.

The plan for using the building assigned the second story to the Normal school, comprising a central room about forty feet square, with two recitation rooms. The ground floor,

similarly arranged, was to be used by the school of the central district as an "experimental or model school," in consideration of which privilege the town had made its appropriations for the building. The building was afterward twice enlarged, first by the addition of two wings and later by the addition of a third story.

In opening its sessions the school had forty-seven pupils, twenty-seven women and twenty men, out of fifty-five applicants.

The board of education pursued an enlightened and liberal policy in support of the earnest efforts of teachers and students. Stimulating lecturers came from time to time into personal touch with them. "Guyot, the peerless geographer, author of 'The Earth and Man,' gave new, comprehensive and profound views of the earth. Russell showed the power of literature when expressed in appropriate utterance; the Bible read by him took on new and impressive meaning. Agassiz, with inexpressible charm, led the students to discover wonders in the structure of some tiny insect, or in a panorama of language and illustration presented his clear vision of the massive changes wrought during the glacial age. These men, and such as these, gave dignity to the normal school and helped it forward."

It is a very significant fact that the social atmosphere of Westfield was most hospitable toward the young people who gathered there to take the normal school course. Homes were opened not only to provide them with food and shelter at rates so low as to reduce profits to a minimum, but also in many cases to facilitate their meeting in cordial relations citizens and eminent guests from abroad at evening receptions. Thus the Bates homestead on Court Street was often utilized by Mrs. William G. Bates in co-operation with her distinguished husband to promote the prosperity of the school.

Already for a half-century generous hospitality had been shown students of the academy at a price for home privileges of less than $2 per week, and in cases of young women who came as pupils of the normal school and were unable to pay that modest sum, they were provided with plainly furnished rooms at a nominal price and boarded themselves. This generous policy drew to the Westfield school students whose

homes were much nearer other schools, and made it for many years the largest in the State.

The ministry of one devoted woman of rare spirit and Christian zeal whose evangelical fervor is still a cherished tradition in the community is thus emphasized by Dr. Greenough: "I may not pass without mention the genuine interest in the highest welfare of the students shown by the members of the several churches. Mrs. Davis, wife of Dr. Davis, held weekly meetings for them and other young ladies; but she did not depend upon collective efforts; she became acquainted with each and led many by her words and prayers to begin a Christian life."

It should also be noted that during a long period the Hon. E. B. Gillett, the cultured scholar, eloquent orator and devoted christian gentleman, Father of Speaker Frederick H. Gillett, conducted in the First church a weekly Bible class primarily for the young women of the normal school, which was largely attended until ill health necessitated his relinquishment of the cherished undertaking. That was but one of many ways whereby his rare personality was perpetually made an uplifting and potent influence in the life of the community. His deep interest in, and personal efforts in behalf of, young men, recognized and emphasized by his having been chosen the first president of the Young Men's Christian Association, are gratefully cherished by individuals yet pursuing commercial and professional activities.

Principal Rowe resigned in March, 1854, to accept a similar position in the Irving Institute at Tarrytown, N. Y. During the eight years of his tenure at Westfield the school had not passed beyond its tentative stage. A conflict was constantly rife between the progressive and the conservative educational forces. The triumph of the former in the legislature under the persistent pressure of Horace Mann and others was endangered by the no less persistent opposition of those who were quick to criticise any blunders in the policy and methods of the new enterprise and skeptical respecting its need and practical value. It was often declared that "every one can teach whatever he knows," and that one's own schoolroom and his own actual experience in its conduct were the only efficient and needful field of preparation for his special calling.

The public schools had been for a half-century depending upon the academies for their best qualified teachers, and it was only by the slow process of proving by actual experience the superiority over them of normal school graduates that district authorities could be convinced that the contention of the progressives was established and that the new institution was worthy of support. Thus the problem was gradually pressed to final and correct solution.

The students of those early days comprised many types, diverse in age, resources and aptitudes. Some had manifestly more fitness than others for their proposed calling. Some of narrow mind and professional manners provoked ready criticism and kindly jest, even as their imitators do in these modern days. "Yet in these motley gatherings of students were those who had found in teaching what they were fitted by nature to do. They had also found ideals of a useful and satisfying life, such as to them was discoverable in no other employment. They cheerfully endured hardship, grudged no toil, and labored on with unlimited patience, if they could but gain additional knowledge and skill serviceable in teaching."

The successor of Mr. Rowe was Mr. William H. Wells, who during the tenure of his office from 1854 to 1856 made the first attempt to institute a graduating class in the Westfield school and to honor with official diplomas such pupils as should complete with sufficiently high marks an authorized course of study. This was a decided step toward raising the school to an adequate standard. Mr. Wells resigned to accept the responsible position of superintendent of the schools of Chicago.

He was succeeded at Westfield by John W. Dickinson, who had enjoyed during his college course at Williams the inspiring instruction of that peerless teacher, Mark Hopkins, of whom the lamented President Garfield said in oft-quoted words, "a college is a log in the forest with Mark Hopkins at one end and a pupil at the other." During Mr. Dickinson's long term of office he frequently resorted to Williamstown for consultation with his revered teacher, and who shall determine how large a measure of the marked success of his administration was thus indirectly due to that prince of educators among the distant hills? Mr. Dickinson had been already

connected with the school four years as assistant. When promoted to headship of the school, Mr. James C. Greenough was made first assistant after he had been successful as a teacher in country district schools, in a village grammar and in high schools, and as principal of the Hooker grammar school in the city of Salem.

In 1861 Mr. Joseph G. Scott, who after graduation from the normal school had proven his ability as a teacher, was made second assistant. The topical form of teaching was adopted in each of the studies pursued, in the natural order when teaching elementary truth, in the logical order when dealing with scientific truth. "The essential truths of mental activity upon which all true teaching depends are principles of teaching; the exposition and application of those principles constitute the philosophy of teaching." As never before so fully attempted anywhere else in this country, the Westfield school now began to base its teaching wholly on clearly enunciated principles, no longer misusing textbooks, and breaking away from traditional but incorrect methods.

The advanced position taken and maintained by the Westfield school attracted wide attention, and prominent educators came to give it patient study. Joseph White of Williamstown, then secretary of the board of education, and afterward for many years Treasurer of Williams College, was very influential in introducing it into the schools of the State, often calling upon its teachers to demonstrate it before State institutes. In 1869 the first assistant principal, Mr. Greenough, was chosen to reopen the Connecticut State Normal School at New Britain, and though deciding not to remain there himself he secured several graduates of the Westfield schools as teachers in that institution. Two years later he accepted the position of Principal of the Rhode Island Normal School at Providence, where he also introduced as teachers to co-operate with him several Westfield graduates. They were in demand besides in the normal school at Oswego, N. Y., as well as in many other schools of that state and regions westward. Thus the prestige of the Westfield school became recognized and its influence increased in potency in ever widening spheres.

Mr. Dickinson's acceptance of the office of Secretary of the board of education in 1877 enabled him to augment that

influence in all parts of the State with the result of stimulating a demand for other normal schools in various regions in order to bring them more readily and cheaply within reach of pupils.

Mr. Joseph G. Scott, a teacher of rare ability and a personality of peculiar charm, succeeded Mr. Dickinson as principal, and retained the office for ten years with marked success. He has been justly characterized as "a keen and accurate scholar and well versed in all departments of study. Mr. Scott's inclinations led him to culitvate especially mathematics and the sciences. In the latter field, perhaps, was his success most manifest, not alone in lifting the school out of the ordinary in the manner of his instruction, but also in kindling enthusiasm in his pupils. * * It is certain that he strengthened the foundations of the school, intensified its mental and moral effects on the pupils, and carried its well-known principles to a higher perfection than they had yet reached."

When Mr. Greenough became Principal in 1887, Mr. Scott's repeated request to be restored to his former position as first assistant was granted, and he occupied it for the two succeeding years. The boarding hall on the corner of Washington and King Streets, erected during the incumbency of Mr. Dickinson, was greatly improved in 1887 by the expenditure of an appropriation of between $7,000 and $8,000 secured through the influence of Hon. M. B. Whitney, chairman, and other members of the board of visitors. Two years later the legislative committee on education reported favorably a bill for the erection of a new school building adequately adapted to the various requirements of the growing institution.

In view of the proposition a meeting was held in Springfield to promote an attempt to have the school removed to that city. But the devotion shown by the people of its home town from the date of its establishment, and the striking success which in that environment had marked its career, proved a sufficient reason for its continuance there, supported by the testimony to its high standing and efficiency accorded by members of the Legislature from all parts of the Commonwealth. As Dr. Greenough feelingly testifies, "It was an hour of generous recognition, an hour of glad triumph to teachers and to the graduates especially who had won this meed of praise. It was an hour of unmeasured compensations and

intense emotions to the writer who had toiled many years to upbuild the school and help its students. The bill appropriating $150,000 unanimously passed the house to be engrossed, and in due time received the approval of the senate and the signature of the Governor."

The present writer may also testify to his own keen personal interest in the result, not only because of its benefit to the town, the State, and the general cause of education, but also because the site chosen for the erection of the noble building was contiguous to the parsonage on Court Street where he had already lived for many years, and from the windows of which he watched with deepening satisfaction the process of its erection.

It was formally dedicated in June, 1892, though it had been occupied for school uses during several previous months. Its arrangement was admirably planned, including well-equipped physical, geological, chemical, biological and mineralogical laboratories, besides a library, sloyd room, gymnasium, an ample and imposing audience hall, recitation rooms and quarters for kindergarten and other grades of the model schools. Those who had charge of preparing its plans are entitled to high praise for the adequate results of their arduous labors.

Ten years after the normal school was opened the training school was discontinued, and for several subsequent years each pupil got practical training by teaching the lesson to classmates as though they were children under instruction. But the conclusion was finally reached that such a method was not as practically effective as that of actually observing and teaching real children. Hence a new plan was adopted whereby the children of the town's central school, on the corner of School Street opposite the normal school, should be used as a "school of observation." Later, although the new normal building had about 150 town pupils in its several training grades, a need for a larger number was felt, and in 1899 the handsome and commodious building on the site of the first normal building was erected as a model school, and since then has been in charge of Mr. George W. Winslow, its efficient and popular principal.

The need of a new boarding hall, ample and equipped according to modern ideas, was met in 1907 by the erection

of Dickinson Hall on King Street on the north side of the normal school lot. Since its opening Mrs. Charles B. Wilson has graciously and faithfully filled the position of "housemother."

After nearly ten years of devoted service Mr. Greenough resigned. "During this period the course of study was reconstructed, more attention was given to strictly professional study, a training school including the kindergarten was organized, and a system of practical training developed which was adapted to better fit the normal student for his work." It was during his administration also that the new school building already described was erected. He was succeeded by Mr. Charles S. Chapin, a college graduate who had first been admitted to the bar and then given abundant proof of his ability as a teacher. His administration of the school was strikingly successful, the vigor and breadth of his mind, his attractive personality, and his capacity as a public speaker, having early won for him a prominent place among the progressive educators of the State. His most distinctive task as principal was the solution of the problem of the new and enlarged model school opened during his official term. It was with profound regret on the part of the State board, faculty, pupils and townspeople, that his resignation was presented in 1901, after five years of valuable service. Then he became principal of the Rhode Island state normal school at Providence, thus following in office there Mr. Greenough as he had succeeded him in Westfield. Several years later Dr. Chapin accepted a position which he still holds as principal of the State normal school of New Jersey at Montclair. Mr. Clarence A. Brodeur succeeded him at Westfield, and already has maintained himself in that position for a period several years longer than that of any predecessor with the single exception of Mr. Dickinson. Several members of the present faculty, however, outrank him in length of service. Miss Edith L. Cummings and Miss Emma L. Hammond began their work at the school in September, 1895. Dr. Charles B. Wilson began a year later, with Mrs. Adaline A. Knight, whose term of service covered more than two decades before she resigned her position.

CHAPTER IX

The Preceptor Turned Pastor

One of the most useful citizens that ever had his home in Westfield was Emerson Davis. For forty-four years, as Preceptor of the Academy and then as Pastor of the church first established in the town, he devoted his time, strength and talents to the public weal, honored and beloved in both his official and private capacity.

He was born in Ware, Mass., July 15, 1798, was salutatorian of the class of 1821 at Williams college, was tutor there during the year following his graduation, and for many years previous to his death was its Vice-President. In the obituary notice in the News Letter noting his sudden death during the week succeeding the delivery of his thirtieth anniversary sermon on Sunday, June 3, 1866, as pastor of the church, his character and habits are sketched as follows:

"Dr. Davis was noted for order and industry, punctuality, honesty and true piety. It was his practice to rise at half-past four or at five o'clock in the morning, work in his garden or at some physical labor until breakfast, study from 8 a.m. till 12 m., and attend to his parochial duties in the afternoon. In this way he performed a great amount of labor, as will be seen by reading his commemoration sermon in this paper. He was one of the most thorough scholars in our Commonwealth and took a deep interest in the cause of education. He served as a member of the town school committee for some 25 years and was a favorite with all political parties.

"He avoided extremes in all cases, deliberated cautiously, but when convinced that he was right his purposes were fixed and unalterable. He was plain and practical in his style of preaching, concise in the expression of his ideas, and his sermons were full of instruction. His sudden death cast a gloom over our village such as we seldom see: and all (for he had no enemies) with one accord felt the general sorrow. His funeral was attended on Monday afternoon, June 11, at his church, and the whole population of the town were out as mourners, so

that the house could not contain them. President Hopkins of Williams college preached the sermon. His text was Psalm CXII, 6 verse: 'The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.' This text was found by President Hopkins written and signed by Dr. Davis in one of the college autograph books, and thus the doctor selected the text for his funeral sermon. Rev. H. Hopkins of the Second Congregational church in this place, Rev. Mr. Buckingham and Rev. Mr. Parsons of Springfield, assisted in the sad exercises. A large number of clergymen in this part of the State were present and followed his remains to the grave among the pines in our beautiful cemetery."

The account also says, "In 1822 he came to Westfield and took charge of the academy. He was a successful teacher; and all the autumn term when young men wished to prepare for teaching common schools, he sometimes had 240 pupils as he told us on the morning of the day he died. He was married in 1824, and has had nine children, only three of whom with his wife survive him. He lived in this town forty-four years, fourteen of which were spent as principal of the academy and thirty as pastor of the First Congregational church."

It was as a teacher that Emerson Davis was introduced to Westfield and first began to be known throughout the Commonwealth. Probably not another man of his generation was more deeply interested in, devoted to, or exercised a more wide and beneficent influence over, the cause of education in Massachusetts than he. In 1837, Mr. Davis was appointed by Gov. Edward Everett one of eight members of the first state board of education, to serve for eight years. That was during the year following that of his acceptance of the pastorate of the church, and proves that though he had given up teaching as a profession his intelligence and efficiency in the cause of education were still highly esteemed in official circles.

Dr. Davis, as elsewhere noted, was elected a trustee of the Westfield academy in 1836 and served as president of the board from 1845 until his death in 1866.

He wrote for various publications sundry articles on educational subjects, and six years after having become Preceptor of the academy he published a scientific treatise upon a subject in which he was deeply interested. The work, as was natural,

secured a notice in the local newspaper, the Westfield Register of April 14, 1830, as follows:

"Lessons in Botany, designed for the use of schools and academies, by E. Davis, preceptor of Westfield academy."

At that period there was a widespread movement toward temperance. Societies to promote it were organized in various places. Occasional instances of the disuse of liquor at "raisings" and other gatherings are noted in the Register.

The issue of May 26, 1830, records "the organization in Westfield of the Hampden Society for the Promotion of Temperance. The meeting was attended by delegates from the temperance associations in Palmer, Monson, Agawam, Feeding Hills, Southwick, Granville and Blandford, also by many gentlemen from other towns in the county, together with the friends of temperance in this village. A very candid and persuasive address was delivered on the occasion by the Hon. Mark Doolittle of Belchertown, after which the Rev. T. M. Cooley of Granville was appointed moderator and Rev. Emerson Davis of Westfield, secretary. It was then voted that the convention proceed to form a county society, in support of which motion the Rev. Messrs. Knapp of Westfield, Clark of Blandford, and Foot of Southwick addressed the meeting."

Action relative to temperance, Jan. 3, 1834, is the last entry of any church action in the book, which was begun in 1679 by Rev. Edward Taylor and carried on by the four pastors who immediately succeeded him. Its records include births, deaths, marriages, baptisms and accessions to membership.

It is altogether probable that the town meetings were usually conducted in an orderly manner, though perhaps not always enforcing parliamentary law as strictly as in these later days. An exception is shown in 1824, when after the election of James Fowler as moderator by 46 out of 52 votes, the record declares the following astounding fact: "The Riot Act & the one against profane cursing & swearing were read by the Clerk, after which the votes for a Town Clerk were called for and the count showed that Alfred Stearns had been re-elected by 89 out of 90 votes." What was the occasion of the outbreak which demanded the solemn rehearsal of the law's warnings is in no way suggested. It seems to have

been a sudden eruption of leonine violence followed immediately by lamblike gentleness.

At this period the town began to deal with the question of sanitation and to make more formal provision for dealing with fires. In 1832, in acting upon an article proposing the removal of nuisances and the establishment of a board of health, it was "voted that the Selectmen be a Board of Health," and "that Cleanliness be recommended to every one,"—two very good decisions provided they possessed sufficient practical force to make them effective. If they had been thoroughly executed, no "clean-up day" would have been needed.

In the matter of fire protection, at the April meeting in 1832, after having voted "to sell a string of Gold Beads in the hands of E. Arnold Treasurer," it was decided to raise the sum of $200 for a suction engine, provided private subscriptions amounting to $300 could be secured. Two years later a vote to build an engine house indicates that the effort to raise money for the engine had been successful. Action was also taken respecting approval of the state law passed March 1, 1834, concerning the appointment of enginemen.

In 1837 the selectmen were directed "to employ a suitable person to take charge of each Fire Engine, whose duty it shall be to put & keep the same in complete repair & fit for immediate use at all times & to haul the same & the Ladders, Hooks & other apparatus with a horse to the place of any fire on the first alarm, & that the reasonable compensation of such persons be from time to time fixed and agreed upon by the Selectmen." It is thus shown that the town had made considerable progress in gathering equipment, and at that early day had taken a decided step toward the establishment of a paid fire department, though far from completing the system. This is much earlier than is commonly supposed.

In 1839 the Legislature passed a law to the effect that whenever any town should establish a fire department the selectmen should appoint annually as many engineers as they might think fit, not exceeding twelve, however, to hold office for one year. They were to take the place of the fire wards, to organize fire companies, to have charge of apparatus, to have control of regulations for preventing fires, etc.

The interesting question of the transfer of the meeting

house from the town to the church has no absolute and explicit answer in the records. At the March meeting, 1828, the town made its final appropriation for the support of the minister. Practical disestablishment of the Congregational church took place much earlier, to the extent that any citizen who was a regular contributor to the support of any other church was relieved of taxation to support the established church. But unless bearing some other ecclesiastical burden, every taxpayer was assessed for the historic institution. The Congregational society was legally constituted in January, 1829, and at the succeeding March meeting the town made no appropriation for Mr. Knapp's salary, as it had done for the minister of the town each successive year since it was organized.

A rather anomalous relationship between town and church existed for a time previous to the formation of the Congregational society, as is shown by action taken in December, 1827, ordering the selectmen to provide stoves for the meeting house "at the expense of the Congregational Society." The stoves seem to have been delayed, since among the appropriations at the April meeting, 1827, were included "$100 for the support of sacred music in Mr. Knapp's society. Stoves and Pipes in the Congregational Meeting House $108. Mr. Knapp's salary $410. The last above mentioned sum of $618 to be assessed on the Congregational Society."

The transfer of the property to the ecclesiastical body which had used it for so many years seems to have been made by common consent without formal action on the part of the town. At any rate there is no existing record of such action in the books of the town or county. A statement by Buck in his learned treatise on the general subject of ecclesiastical law helps us to an understanding of the rather vague matter: "In general, it may be said, that the meeting house in Massachusetts is owned by the parish or religious society: whoever holds the fee, holds it for the use of the parish or religious society. The control of the meeting house, in general, follows the ownership. But this question of ownership and control has qualifications in the law, divisions and distinctions, like the great doctrines preached in the pulpits. In the days of church and state this was a field for the nicest legal distinctions. If the meeting house were erected when town and parish

were one, no such entity having yet been carved out of the town as the corporation called the parish, even then it was of no little legal consequence to whom the meeting house belonged. Just as soon as the parish was created out of the ribs of the town, forthwith the manly town lost the meeting house: and it went over, with all its adjuncts (eo instanti), to the more feminine spiritual corporation, the parish. In plain English, the meeting house from the first, with its lands and property, belonged to the town in its parochial, not in its civil character." (Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law, Chapter X, pp. 136–7.)

March 25, 1831, a deed was given by Sewell Dewey, William Dewey, Sophia Dewey of Westfield and Laura Perry and Samuel Perry of Caunawango, N. Y., heirs of Russell Dewey, "Pew in the Meeting House on the margin of the Green in said Westfield, being No 88 and situated on the centre or broad Aisle, bounded in front by Pew No 89 occupied by the Rev. Emerson Davis & in rear by No 87 occupied by the heirs of John Bancroft late of Westfield deceased, owned in common & undivided with Dr. Horace Smith & Warham Shepard or the heirs of the Late Genl William Shepard deceased, & all our Right, Title, Interest and Estate of, in and to certain Pew" sold "to Robert Whitney, his Heirs and Assigns." This old deed is on the inside of a cover of a book of town records of the time.

Successive generations of boys have been altogether too true to the traditional habit of lawlessness. The following communication and editorial comment appeared in the Westfield Journal, Aug. 4, 1835: "Mr. Editor. The Committee on Sacred Music have been requested to give notice that in case the noise and disturbance by the boys at the door of the Town House are renewed upon any future meeting of the singers, legal measures will be resorted to to prevent the recurrence of it and to punish the offenders.

"Boys, beware! The committee are not men accustomed to retrograde movements. 'Their bite will be worse than their waur.' We hope our young friends (we were about to call them) will receive the warning kindly and transgress no more. While upon the subject we venture to request the same class of individuals to recollect on the Lord's day when in the galleries, 1st That they are not upon a race course but in the

house of God, 2d That they are not horses but the children of christian parents, 3d that no boy makes a good appearance either there or elsewhere who runs over full grown men."

About five years after the coming of Mr. Davis as Preceptor of the academy it seemed expedient to modify the original plan of conducting the temporalities of the church and organize an ecclesiastical society under a State law adopted many years earlier. The warrant was issued to David H. Merwin, a member of the society. The meeting was held Dec. 29, 1828. Azariah Moseley, Esq., was elected moderator and choice was made of Isaac Wells, Esq., as treasurer, with William Atwater and William Hooker as prudential committee. Since that date the financial affairs of the church have been conducted by the society thus organized. At the meeting held on April 13, 1829, the sum of $410 was voted "for the minister for the current year" and the sum of $100 was voted "for the support & encouragement of sacred music." In the next succeeding year the items are as follows: "four hundred & ten Dollars for Mr. Knap's salary, fifty Dollars for singing, ten Dollars for glass, ten Dollars for sweeping house, six Dollars for wood & oil, fifteen Dollars for wood & oil for town house, twenty Dollars for contingencies, ten Dollars for collecting taxes," and Jehial Abbott was chosen collector. In 1832 the whole amount voted for all expenses was only $550. What a mere moiety it seems in these modern days! But two years later the appropriations were $50 less, including $16 for ringing the bell.

In 1835 the appropriations were nearly double those of the year before, $962, including $209 to pay debts of the society, $410 for Mr. Knapp, $110 for sacred music, "150 to procure ministerial assistance and $20 for purchase of Base Viol!"

Negotiations were opened with Rev. Emerson Davis, who already had supplied the pulpit on sundry occasions, to secure him as associate Pastor. He was offered a salary of $700 a year, while Mr. Knapp was to receive $250, together with $120 from invested funds and the use of parsonage lands valued at $30 a year. The plan was approved by all parties concerned. An account of the ordination of Mr. Davis as associate pastor with Mr. Knapp is found in The Talisman, a local paper published for a short time by Henry B. Smith, given in the issue

of Saturday, June 4, 1836: "The ordination of the Rev. Emerson Davis as associate pastor with the Rev. Mr. Knapp of the Congregational church of this town took place on Wednesday last. The concourse of people was very large and the church was filled to overflowing. Frequent references were made in the course of the exercises to the circumstance that while so many societies in New England have been agitated by commotions and discord, this has enjoyed uninterrupted harmony. No one of the ministers who has been settled over this society for the very long period of its existence has been removed except by the hand of death, and we presume there are not a few present who could have heartily responded to the request of Dr. Osgood in the consecrating prayer, that he who was then inducted into office might continue here to labor for many years, and like his predecessors leave this field and his people in this place, only at his master's call to his final rest."

The council met for his examination at the residence of Mr. Thomas Mather on Elm Street, and the public exercises were held in the church building. Thus the man who had achieved such marked success as an educator, honored and beloved by fourteen classes as preceptor of the academy, which had nearly completed the fourth decade of its usefulness, became pastor of one of the largest country churches of the Commonwealth. In this latter capacity it may be justly claimed that his beneficent usefulness was broader and deeper than it had been in the former one. As pastor he was able to touch more pepole than he could as teacher, for his influence was exercised over lives of every age, condition, and class, instead of being confined distinctively to boys and girls.

His record of thirty years of devoted service is one of remarkable success. The most elaborate and exact statistics would fall far short of constituting an adequate exposition of results actually accomplished during those three decades, though they would throw some light upon it.

On the Sunday before his death he preached a sermon which was afterward published by request, having for its text, "Having obtained help of God, I continue unto this day." Acts. 26:22. Its subject was the changes of thirty years. In the course of it he said: "During these thirty

years the population of this town has increased from 3,200 to 5,600, and the valuation of the property of the town from $500,000 to three and a quarter millions." He notes great improvement in the general appearance of the town, in its cleanliness, in its schoolhouses, in its buildings and places for public meetings. He refers to the fact that no other church of New England which had been established for nearly 200 years could say that none of its pastors had ever been dismissed. In a resume he says, "I have during these 30 years admitted to the fellowship of this church 651 persons, 279 by letters of recommendation from other churches, and 372, just the original number, on profession of their faith."

"It is a matter of interest to trace the population of the various towns of old Hampshire county from their organization to a period early in the ministry of Dr. Davis. It is thus furnished in the Gazetteer of Massachusetts, John Haywood, Author and Publisher, Boston, 1847.

Incorporated	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
1759. Amherst	1233	1358	1469	1917	2631	2550
1767. Conway	2092	2013	1784	1705	1563	1459
1673. Deerfield	1330	1531	1570	1868	2003	1912
1753. Greenfield	1498	1254	1165	1361	1540	1756
1654. Northampton	1628	2190	2631	2854	3613	3750
1741. Blandford	1416	1778	1613	1515	1590	1427
1754. Granville	1979	2309	1504	1643	1649	1415
1760. Monson	1331	1635	1674	2126	2263	2151
1770. Southwick	841	867	1229	1255	1355	1214
1646. Springfield	1574	2312	2767	3914	6784	10985
1774. West Springfield	2367	2835	3109	3246	3270	3626
1669. Westfield	2204	2185	2130	2668	2940	3526
1761. Great Barrington	1373	1754	1784	1908	2264	2704
1765. Lanesborough	2142	1443	1303	1319	1192	1140
1778. Adams	2465	1688	1763	1836	2649	3703
1761. Pittsfield	1992	2261	2665	2768	3559	3747
1765. Williamstown	1820	2086	1843	2010	2134	2153

We may learn from the town records the respective dates of the laying out and acceptance of various streets that long have been familiar to the inhabitants.

At the April meeting, 1832, the following streets were

accepted under their respective names, and a sketch covering a full page of the record book illustrated the action.

"Westerly from the Green, Court Street.
Easterly from the Green, Main Street.
Southerly from the Green, Broad Street.
Northerly from the Green, Elm Street.
Westerly from Elm Street, Franklin Street,
Northerly from Franklin Street, Shepard Lane.
Westerly from Amos Fowler's, Silver Street.
By Senior Smith's to Horton's Bridge, Maple Street.
By Horton's & E. Holcomb, Mill Street.
Easterly from Amos Fowler's, South Street.
Southerly from Main Street by Chas. Noble's, Noble Street.
From Main St. by Eli Fowler's to Great River Bridge: Meadow Street.
Southerly from Timothy Dewey's to Ponder's Hollow: East Street.
Southerly from Main Street by Mrs. Norton's, Cross Street.
Northerly from Mrs. Enoch Clars to G. R. B., New Street.

Christened before opening —

By the Town House to Canal, Basin Street.
From Main Street to Basin Street, Canal Street.

Report filed."

The name of Basin Street was changed many years since to Academy Street.

Amos Fowler lived at the foot of Broad Street, the residence of the late Mr. Lucius F. Thayer for many years.

Later laying out of streets.

Washington Street, March 1, 1841, passing over land of James Fowler,

Samuel Arnold, Mr. Knapp and the Congregational Society, commencing on Franklin Street between houses of Jonah L. Gross and Amos Halliday.

Arnold Street, June 22, 1848, beginning on Elm Street at the southeast corner of Samuel Arnold's land to Washington, 49 rods, width 48 links.

Thomas Street, June 23, 1848. Elm Street at southeast corner of Leonard Atwater's land running southeast 30 rods 16 links to west side of road running with canal, two rods wide.

Spring Street June 23, 1848. Washington Street southeast

corner of Allen Dean's land southeast 24 rods 2 links to southwest corner of Oliver Treat's land, three rods wide.

Sumner Street, June 23, 1848. Franklin, northeast corner Oliver Treat's land southwest 33 rods and 22 links to south east corner of D. D. Sacket's land, two rods wide.

Church Street, June 23, 1848. Washington, northwest corner of land of Normal schoolhouse southeast 48 rods and 18 links to Elm Street, two rods and 11 links wide at the west end of Baptist meeting house.

Orange Street, March 10, 1856.

In a local history, items culled from current issues of the newspapers of the region couched in the phraseology of the day have a peculiar flavor. A series of such with their respective dates, gathered by long and patient research may be presented without apology—

June 9, 1841 The News Letter. "Keep Cool. Keep it before the people that the *Soda* Fountain of our friend Henry B. Smith, on the East side of the Green, is now in full operation, and it is not surpassed in quality or quantity this side of Rushton & Aspinwall's, in Broadway. Oh, how delicious this *hot* weather, to drop in and refresh one's self at his cooling spring. Just call and feel that fruition is better than anticipation. We say

"Cool Soda and Sarsaparilla for me,
And Wine for the tremulous debauchee."

Sept. 16, 1842. Account of death of widow Hannah Noble, aged 99, three times married, daughter of David Weller, son of Eleazur Jr., who was son of Eleazur one of the first settlers. She was born Sept. 12, 1743 O.S. She was the first born of the second of her Father's three wives, her Mother was Hannah Root. She was married to Paul Noble, Dec. 3, 1767, Thanksgiving Day evening by John Ballantine, who was paid six shillings. Paul Noble was drafted Sept. 17, 1776, to join the army in New York under Capt. John Kelly for two months, and May 13, 1877, he was drafted, etc., etc. Mrs. Noble joined the church in halfway covenant in 1769, but never came into full communion. She hopefully experienced religion at the age of 91, which was the theme of her conversation during the last years of her life.

April 18, 1849. "New Organ. We understand it is in contemplation by the Congregational Society in this town to purchase the Organ just finished by Mr. William A. Johnson, for the purpose of placing it in their Church. It is of the largest description, and valued at $1500. We are pleased to see the Organs manufactured by our townsman in such demand, and we hesitate not to say that those turned out by him are fully equal to those made by any other man in the Union. Mr. J. is one of the most ingenious men in this region and will doubtless succeed in bringing his favorite business to great perfection."

May 23, 1849. "Westfield Post Master. The mail of Saturday brought from Washington the commission of Henry B. Smith, Esq., who has recently been appointed by President Taylor, Postmaster in this town, vice Matthew Ives, Esq. removed. The appointment of Mr. S. is very acceptable to the Whig party: and we are not quite sure but that a majority of all parties are decidedly pleased with the change. Our friend, the Major, has held the office from time immemorial, with only a slight interruption, and he is doubtless glad of the privilege to retire to private life. We are pleased to know that he retires with a competency—respected and honored by the community in which he has lived from his boyhood."

Feb. 5, 1851. Notice of remodeling of the Central Baptist church building on the corner of Elm and Church Streets at an expense of $600, adding greatly to its appearance and comfort.

During the winter of 1856, while advertisements of the H. B. Smith & Co's bookstore continued to appear, the same firm advertised another line of goods,—all kinds of wooden material used in the construction of buildings, together with Fall River nails at wholesale prices, and a little later it was noted that patterns were being made for large iron screws suitable for heavy work in mills, presses, etc. "All kinds of machinery casting can be supplied at the Woronoco Foundry," thus indicating the small beginnings of the H. B. Smith Co., whose foundry work has demanded for many years the employment of many hundred hands, an establishment which has done more than any other in the history of the town to promote and maintain its commercial prosperity.

Mar. 14, 1849. "Death of Miss Mary Lyon. We learn

from the Northampton Courier that this distinguished & excellent lady, to whose piety, ability and zeal the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary owes its establishment and unrivalled success,—died of erysipelas at the Seminary, Monday March 5th."

Apr. 18. "Monument to Mary Lyon—The Trustees of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary have voted to erect a suitable monument to the memory of Miss Mary Lyon, and appointed a committee to carry the vote into immediate effect. Contributions for the object, in any sum, will be thankfully received and faithfully applied; and it is requested that what is given may be remitted as soon as possible to Rev. R. Hawks, at South Hadley, Mass." The result of this canvass is the inclosed monument which is decorated with laurel rope each year at commencement.

April 4. "A Sewing Machine is exhibiting at Albany which makes a pair of pantaloons in half an hour, and an overcoat in an hour and a half, save the button holes and sewing on of buttons. O fie."

In July, 1850, an exciting game of wicket ball, probably similar to the English game of cricket, was played at East Granville between a local team and one from Westfield. It was ended by darkness, and followed by a free fight between the two teams.

Aug. 1. Proclamation of Governor Briggs appointing a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer, "in view of the existence and ravages of the Asiatic Cholera in many parts of our country." Reports of its ravages from week to week. Quotation from a sermon of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and announcement that Father Mathew will probably remain a year in this country.

Sept. 12. Van Amburgh & Co's Menagerie to give two exhibitions on Tuesday, Sept. 25.

"Mr. Van Amburgh (in the Dens of Wild Beasts) who will give an interesting illustration of the ascendancy of mind over matter. Mr. Van Amburgh returned from Europe (in April last) from a most successful tour, bringing with him various rare specimens of the animal creation. Among his trained animals may be found a magnificent Black Tiger, a Royal Bengal Tiger, and a Himalya Cougar."

Many letters from California from various local members of the Hampden Mining Co., David Lamberton, Jere Horton and others are quoted.

An interesting "Abstract of Valuation of Town of Westfield" is given in The Standard, Sept. 4, 1850: "No. of polls, 1070: No. of dwelling houses, 649; barns 506; shops, 105; distilleries, 2; warehouses and stores, 28; furnaces, 1; grist mills, 4; fulling mills, 1; saw mills, 6; tanneries, 2; cotton factories, 1; paper mills, 1; other mills, 12; all other buildings, 339. Acres of pasture land, 5201; unimproved, 4154; unimprovable, 377; wood, 3377; tillage, 7790; mowing, 2036; fresh meadow, 562; owned by town, 200; covered by water, 1980; covered by roads, 828. Amount of stock in trade, $155,625.00; money at interest, $137,360.00; cash on hand, including such as is on deposit in banks, $6090.00; U. W. stock, $10,000.00; stock in Insurance Companies and Banks, $91,040.00; in railroads, canals and turnpikes, $72,060.00. No. of bushels of wheat, 486; rye, 18487; oats, 11456; corn, 28941. Tons of English hay, 2950; fresh meadow, 637. No. of cows pastures will keep with after feed of farms, 1332; No. of horses, 533; oxen, 260; cows, 698; steers and heifers, 594; sheep, 660; swine, 521. Doomed personal estate $16,700.00; other ratable estate not before enumerated $21,486.00; Amount of plate, 265 oz."

In striking contrast with the above list of 1850, is a list published a year later, showing the town's valuation in 1784, sixty-six years earlier: "Poles rateable 375; not rateable supported by the town 2; Dwelling Houses 206; Shops 42; Distill Houses 1; Pot Ash Works 1; Barns 75; Grist and Saw Mills &c. 9; all Buildings to the value of £5.29; acres of Tillage Land 3164; acres of English Mowing 408; acres of Meadow 1013; acres of Pasture 1549; barrels Cyder yearly made 1495; acres of Wood Land 11,660; acres of Unimproved Land 2087; acres unimprovable 76; Stock in trade 440; Horses and Mares 3 years old and upwards 281; Colts 2 years old 22; do. 1 year old 19; Oxen 4 years old and upwards 292; young Cattle 3 years old 156; do. 2 years old 264; do. 1 year old 166; Cows 4 years old 470; Sheep 6 months old 964; Swine 6 months old 695; Ounces of Silver 259."

There are also excerpts from an old ledger of Thomas

Noble, the settler whose son Thomas built what has been known as the Day house, torn down but a few years ago, on the land now occupied by the State sanatorium.

The oldest entry was made in 1712, but 43 years after the organization of the town. Some samples are here cited.

1713	Nehemire Lumis Depter to one pound tebaccho	2 s	6 d	
1714	John Ashley Dr. for schooling	3	10	
"	for laying out land at pochasuck	1	6	
1715	Thomas Noble reckoned with Samuel Bush jun and there rests due to me	3	2	
"	Phillip Freeman deptor to 3 peks of Rie meel	3		
1716	to filing 1 barel Sider Thomas Dewey detor	6		
"	to hay wayed 6 hundred	9		
"	to great broad ax from Boston	13	6	
"	to writing leter of atorney	6		
1717	John Shepard detor to drink of flip	6		
"	to 2 rub stones	1	2	
1718	to 1 hundred of brick	2	8	

In the latter part of the old ledger are some recipes for various remedies. Among them is a salve prescribed for wounds—"the inside bark of whitepine the green of elder: and catnip and upland alder stued in mutton tallor and then put in some beeswax and sum turpentine and this salve is very good for all most any wounds in man or beast but stue it moderately."

An amusing item appears in after years in the local newspaper: "Notice to the Town Clerk. Taken up by the subscriber a shoat principally white a little reddish hair on the 12th inst. Solomon Phelps.
Westfield, Aug. 13, 1839."

CHAPTER X.

The Preceptor Turned Pastor (*Concluded*)

In October, 1850, a "Fireman's Holiday" or Muster was held in Springfield for purposes of inspection and competition. The list of companies and their respective size and equipment, as given by The Republican, is interesting:

"Cataract No 2, Capt. Ensworth of Springfield. Machine and hose cart beautifully trimmed with flowers and evergreens. Fifty men out, but 80 in the full company. They have 700 feet of hose.

"Phoenix No 2, Capt. Ensworth of Hartford. They had 33 men and 200 feet of hose.

"Torrent of Chicopee Falls, Capt. Holcomb; 60 men, 400 feet of hose; an old and well tried corps.

"Atlantic No 1 of Cabotville, Capt. Fairbanks; machine splendidly decked with flowers and a silk canopy; 65 men and 500 feet of hose.

"Holyoke of Holyoke, Capt. Damon; 32 men and 550 feet of hose.

"Torrent No 1 of Northampton, Capt. George P. Dickinson; 65 men and 600 feet of hose.

"Rough and Ready of Westfield, Capt. H. J. Bush; 48 men and 1000 feet of hose; the name of this company well expresses its characteristics; it has recently been thoroughly reorganized.

"Eagle No 1, U. S. Armory, Capt. J. W. Preston; 65 men and 700 feet of hose; a stalwart, serviceable body of men, all from the shops on the hill.

"Eagle No 2, U. S. Armory, Capt. Pomeroy; 58 men and 300 feet of hose; this is the Watershop company, doffing this year usual dark blue shirts for white.

"Ocean Hose Co. (from the Railroad), Capt. Callender; 40 men and 1350 feet of hose."

They had a street parade in the morning, were then dismissed for dinner, and in the afternoon competed for the

LOUIS MARINUS DEWEY, TOWN ANTIQUARIAN.

In nearly forty years of research Mr. Dewey has collected genealogies of the most important New England families and may be consulted respecting them.

REV. EMERSON DAVIS, D.D.

Preceptor of the Academy, 1822 to 1836, and Pastor of the First Church, 1836 to 1866.

honor of throwing the highest stream of water, directing their efforts toward the gilded rooster which still tops the spire of the old First Church 165 feet above the ground. Such contests with the oldtime hand-pumped engines were intensely interesting to themselves and their partisans. The music of five brass bands, besides a fife and drum corps attached to each of the ten companies, enlivened the occasion.

The Rough and Ready engine house stood next to Erastus Grant's furniture store on Main Street, just west of the present office building of the H. B. Smith Company.

In November, 1850, an item relative to cattle fatted in Westfield is given: "Weight of Fat Oxen. Five pairs of fat cattle were weighed on Wednesday last, their weight being as follows: Geo. Taylor's 4,642 lbs., Hezekiah Taylor's 4,562, Seth Bush 4,340, Charles Fowler 4,290, Hezekiah Taylor 4,240. The two first were five years old and the three last six; aggregate weight, 22,074 lbs. There are twelve pairs in town weighing from forty to sixty hundred each."

The earliest organized movement in the town in behalf of foreign missions was the India Circle which maintained its activities for nearly twenty years. The following items of interest are found in its records: "On the P.M. of Nov. 7th 1850 twenty young ladies assembled at the house of Mrs. Thayer and formed themselves into a sewing Circle when the following constitution was adopted. 'We the undersigned feeling a deep interest in the cause of missions & unwilling longer to remain inactive, are resolved to form ourselves into a Society in order to raise funds for the support of heathen children in India at the station of Ahmednuggar.' "

The payment of 25 cents was to constitute a young lady a member for one year, and the payment of $1.00 was to entitle a young gentleman to the same privilege. Each young lady was to pay a fine of 5 cents for absence from any weekly meeting, or, if present, for bringing her own work. The meetings were to be held at 6 o'clock on successive Thursday evenings during the winter, at private houses. At each meeting one hour was to be given to reading selected by the president, and the session was to be closed with religious exercises.

Of the thirty-eight members who joined the Circle in

that first year of its life, 1850, two are yet living, Mrs. Jennie Bates Greenough and Miss Lucy Smith. The young men enrolled in 1851 were Henry Jessup, Lewis Root, Albert Rand, Charles Morse, M. B. Whitney, H. B. Lewis.

Many letters received from missionaries and young Indian children under their tuition which were read in the meetings are preserved in the records, some of them written in Hindustani.

In the list of male members reported in 1858 appears the name of Mr. Knowlton, the late honored chief justice of Massachusetts, who was a teacher at that time in the Westfield academy.

The needlework of the young women was not confined strictly to the manufacture of garments for heathen children. In 1852 trimmings for the pulpit were provided. At another time help was given Mrs. Davis in some domestic emergency.

In January, 1858, "a half dozen collars were made gratuitously for Dr. Abbott," in response to which he sent the following characteristic note: "To the Ladies of the 'India Circle.' Be pleased to accept the thanks of myself and Mrs. Abbott, for your kindness in replacing an almost indispensable article of apparel for a gentleman, of which I was deprived by the fire over our house on the 4th inst: I fear you can hardly justify yourselves in turning aside from the laudable purposes of your association, to express your kind sympathies for us; but will allow yourselves to be judges in the premises. Greatly desiring that those of your Society who have no Husbands may ere long be as those who have, I am ladies Your friend & well wisher Jehiel Abbott. Jany 13th 1858."

In 1869 it was decided to collect no more funds by the India Circle because Mrs. Ballantine's school at Ahmednuggar was on a firm basis, and because the Woman's Board of Missions had been organized to do in a general way what the local society had done in a special instance.

Various missionary organizations among the women and children of the old church were maintained under the energetic and devoted guidance of Mrs. L. R. Norton, loyally succeeded for many years by Miss Clara M. Reed.

Mrs. Emerson Davis was a most efficient and consecrated helper of her husband. An illustration of her zeal is furnished in an undated note still preserved, addressed to Mr. John

Reed in his young manhood, who later served as deacon for thirty years, 1872-1902:

"Dear John: I hope you will not consider me officious when I say to you that it is very desirable that you should cultivate the habit of expressing your feelings in meeting. It is a benefit to yourself and an encouragement to others, and cheers your pastor. Another thing. I wish you and Mr. Colton [John W.] would volunteer your services and take our horse and wagon if you choose, and open a sabbath school in some out place and go after meeting in the P.M. If you ask Mr. Smith [H. B.] he will direct. It is time to begin. I trust you are living near to God and feel a desire to 'do good.' In doing good we get good. Yours truly M. M. Davis.

Tuesday A.M. "We are always glad to see you at our house. We have more claim than any other family here."

A description of the foundry and stove warehouse of T. A. Lewis at the corner of Main and Canal Streets, the precursor of the present extensive establishment of the H. B. Smith Co., appears Oct. 15, 1851. The cupola for melting pig iron was capable of holding about 1200 pounds, besides 350 pounds of Lehigh coal. The hand ladles held about 30 pounds of melted metal. For large pieces an iron kettle called a bull-ladle was used, holding 1800 pounds, moved by a crane. From 1200 to 1500 stoves were made annually, and 10 to 15 men were employed. The molding sand, costing from $6 to $8 per ton, was brought from Waterford, N. Y.

In the issue of June 7, 1852, there is a notice of the opening of an office by Edward B. Gillett for the practice of law.

Feb. 12, 1851. Eber A. Eggleston's return from California is noted, greatly broken in health, and convinced that no monetary consideration could induce him to go thither again.

"Westfield and Springfield by Stage—A coach leaves Westfield for Springfield at 6 o'clock A.M. enabling passengers to take the morning train for the East, North or South, and returns on the arrival of the evening train at 8 P.M. * * * We hope the line will be well patronized, as a man can go from this town to Boston, remain there some 6 or 7 hours, and return home at 10 the same night."

In the Standard for July 30, 1851, there is the copy of a

letter written by Mr. John Weston Heighway for publication in the Southern press, describing a recent visit to Westfield, arriving by stage from Tariffville, Conn., the middle of that month. He says: "In the center of the town, which has 4,200 inhabitants, a sweet oval formed green has been cultivated, and round it are built houses, stores, churches, and hotels, which forms a grand square, and gives to every family an extensive view of all that is passing in the center of the town. The sidewalks are paved, and very level, and outside of the curbing stones are rows of trees, divided from the channels or drains by a chaste, white painted wood railing. The houses are neat in their erection, and each is provided with a small garden, and surrounded with trees, and the appearance of the place from an elevation on the hills is perfectly picturesque. The streets with few exceptions are all made to branch out from the grand square, and they lead to all portions of the surrounding country."

He goes on to describe the whip industry, citing the factory of H. Harrison & Co. as the most extensive one. An average of $300,000 worth is turned out annually. He was shown there a new invention for plaiting the handle of a whip with braided whalebone, also a California whip with a handle or stock, 20 feet long, and 40 feet to the end of the lash. He refers to a number of cigar manufactories, the organ factory of William Johnson, and the farmers celebrated for fattening cattle, naming Seth Bush, Luke Bush, G. H. Moseley, F. Fowler, G. and H. Taylor, C. and J. Fowler, stating that "in the month of January last cattle were fattened whose aggregate weight was 175,631 lbs."

In the following issue, Aug. 6, referring to the letter quoted above, there is an interesting schedule of the various whip industries in town. The manufacture was begun about forty years earlier by Samuel Lindsay in a small shop located on the corner of Silver and Broad Streets. Soon afterward Joel Farnum engaged in the business in a shop where the Lewis block then stood. The whips were primitive affairs made of twisted wooden stalks covered with leather. Hiram Hull entered upon the business and improved its methods, in a small wooden building situated on the corner of Main and Broad Streets, soon afterward moving to a building next

door, and employing horse power. Mr. Hull brought the first plaiting machine into town from Providence, R. I., Aug. 10, 1821, invented by a Mr. Thorp of that city. The right was bought for $1,500 and each machine cost $240. At the time of writing about sixty of the machines had been employed in the different factories of the town. "Prior to the introduction of these useful machines, plaiting was considered a slow and tedious process, it being invariably performed by hand. In those days the plaiting of 48 feet, or a dozen four-feet whips, constituted a good day's work; now 300 feet are estimated to be an ordinary day's labor, and even 600 and 700 feet have been plaited by skilful and active workmen."

The death of Samuel Henry Davis, just as he had entered upon a career of unusual promise, was shocking to the community of Westfield, where he matured to manhood, as well as to the larger town of Springfield, where, as associate editor of the Republican, he had already proven himself a writer of very marked ability. It was at the residence of Samuel Bowles that his sudden and untimely death occurred. The funeral services, attended by a concourse of people which crowded the auditorium, were held at the home church in Westfield. The Rev. S. G. Buckingham, then the youthful pastor of the South church of Springfield, conducted the services and pronounced a eulogy, which in that instance could hardly have been made fulsome in its praise.

In a communication to the News Letter signed "F," the following estimate is published: "Although still very young, Mr. Davis already occupied, entirely through his own industry and skill, an important public position. He not only gave the fairest promise of future eminence, but the capacity which he had manifested in what he had already performed had won for him the attention, respect and confidence of the community. Endowed with an intellect of a high order, at once original, enquiring and retentive, he was both impelled and enabled to desire instruction from every source of knowledge which came within his reach, and his disposition as well as his situation inclined him to communicate freely the information acquired. Although in his own mind his conceptions were always enlivened by fancy and irresistible humor, he was particularly remarkable for good judgment and sound

sense which pervaded his productions and directed the whole course of his education." After a reference to the relation of Mr. Davis to the local paper and the Springfield Republican, the correspondent declares: "In the columns of these journals he has left an interesting record of his progress and character, and of his wonderful fitness for the profession he had deliberately chosen. It may be asserted without hesitation that there has never appeared in this commonwealth a person who united so many and such eminent qualifications for an editor."

A further characterization occurs in a later paragraph: "His happy disposition and easy flow of spirits, his cheerful fancy and wit, his uninterrupted good temper and desire to please, made him the charm of his family and of every social circle, and were the happy evidence of warm affections desirous to love and to be loved."

In the same issue of the News Letter there appears a copy of resolutions passed and sent to the family, by the Chi Psi Fraternity of Williams college, of which Mr. Davis was a member. The first of the committee of three whose names are appended is Charles S. Robinson, who became the widely known and honored Presbyterian clergyman, the compiler of the popular hymn book, "Songs of the Sanctuary."

In 1855 Dr. Davis took part in a council at East Granville which was a chapter in an interesting romance. Years before Robert Mills was one of seven New Bedford sailors who lost sight of their ship when following a whale which they had harpooned. After having traversed 250 miles in the open boat they succeeded in reaching the Marquesan Islands, where they were separated by the natives and could not see one another for seven months. Later, while Mills was on a mountain whither he had gone to look for a ship, his companions made their escape from the island, and he concluded that his fate doomed him to lifelong residence there, and that he would do all that was possible for the benefit of the natives. Having been taken into the house of the chief, after several years he married his daughter. Three years after the death of the chief, Mills and his wife, who was then twenty-five years old, started together to secure a missionary for the islands, going to Australia, Van Dieman's Land, and New

Zealand in a vain search for one. Arriving at last in Boston, they became acquainted with Rev. Bela Newton Seymour of East Granville, through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mr. Seymour was ordained for his missionary work June 20, 1855, at the church in East Granville of which he was a member and his Father, Ardon Seymour, was a deacon. The sermon was preached by Dr. Davis, from Isaiah 42 : 4, the ordaining prayer by Rev. Townsend Walker of Huntington, charge by Rev. Timothy M. Cooley, pastor of the church, right hand of fellowship by Rev. Charles J. Hinsdale of Blandford, concluding prayer by Rev. Simeon Miller of Holyoke, benediction by the Missionary. In the account of the council in the News Letter, Mrs. Mills, the princess, is described as "comely in her personal appearance, intelligent, and 'almost' if not 'altogether' persuaded to be a christian." Mrs. Sigourney wrote a poem for the occasion of four stanzas, entitled, "Farewell of the Young Missionary."

That Dr. Davis was not without support from the local press in maintaining the strict moral standards of the day, is evident from an editorial "Announcements—Dancing" which appeared in the News Letter, Aug. 22, 1855, in which that form of pleasure was earnestly reprobated, because it did not promote mental development and because the physical vigor which it involved ought to be devoted to some useful employment.

A few weeks later the following trumpet blast against another form of amusement appeared: "Ball Alleys in Westfield. Messrs. Editors—While passing along the street on Thursday evening last, my attention was attracted to a certain quarter of the town, from which proceeded loud noises, and among other strange sounds I heard the rattle of Ten Pins, which to me produced a sound like unto thunder. I learn that somebody, I know not who, has had the goodness of heart, to erect a fine looking building, adjoining one of our coffin manufactories, on purpose to entice the young men of our town to go there, and spend not only their money, but what is more than all the rest—their precious time, which should be devoted to some better purpose. Is it possible

that the youth of Westfield cannot be better employed than in rolling ten pins? Is that a fit occupation for boys or men who are soon to be the very persons on whom the burdens of society will fall? Men who are growing up in ten pin alleys to be entrusted with the whole interests of society! ! ! Forbid it reason, justice, and humanity: forbid it, ye young men of Westfield: forbid it, ye who have the training of the young. When so much is at stake: when even the souls of our young men are in immediate danger of being lost: when society demands that our youths should be trained in wisdom's ways: that we may leave the affairs of State as well as Church in competent hands, where do we find the future lawmakers of our town every evening, not forgetting Saturday, which is strictly contrary to law, as is indeed the whole concern?—where do you suppose, Messrs. Editors? Not in the reading room; not in our social meetings, not in the family circle even—but in a low, mean, contemptible hole, near one of our principal streets—yclept a Ball Alley. We sincerely trust that the nuisance will soon be abated, and that the sound of those balls will no longer disturb our quiet citizens as they are walking along Main street. Gambling may tend to intemperance, that to something worse, and in a little space, the young man who may now be the pride of fond and doting parents, will be, instead of a candidate for the honors of his fellow citizens, a candidate for the State Prison, or it may be the gallows. Let our young men, and our old men think of these things, and avoid the Ball Alley as they would the gates of hell, and the antechamber of death. More anon.
"Westfield, Oct. 6th, 1855. P."

An editorial article in the News Letter, July 23, 1856, makes extended comments upon improvements in the town. Three years previously Elisha G. Cook had built a house in one of James Fowler's meadows, where no road ran. Subsequently Mr. Fowler moved into the neighborhood some houses which had been damaged by fire, and George Noble built a house which he sold to E. Goodrich. In the spring of 1855 William G. Bates opened up a street north from Court Street which still bears his name, and King Street was graded; Mr. Cook built a house north of King Street and laid out West School Street; Hampden Street was laid out by Isaac

Knapp. The growth of the town in that region was very rapid at that period.

The issue of May 9, 1855, contains a quotation from Mr. Witherell of the Amherst Express in which he gives an account of a recent visit to Westfield. He speaks of visiting Dr. Shurtleff, a practicing physician of the town, a graduate of Amherst in the class of 1832, who has a notable and valuable cabinet of natural history. "He has nearly 400 species of birds, including both native and foreign species: about 400 species of shells, including about 80,000 specimens,—and insects, and fishes, and animals &c. &c. Prof. Agassiz spent delightful hours here while in town. Dr. Shurtleff is undoubtedly the most extraordinary and enthusiastic student of Natural History in Western Massachusetts." He refers also to the remarkable work of William A. Johnson as a self-taught organ builder, and great success of his wife as an artist in oil and crayon, praise which is amply justified by the sample of Mrs. Johnson's work, a picture in oil of the exquisite "Pitcher,"a pool in a ravine, fed by a slender waterfall on the hill a few miles west of the town. The picture is a cherished treasure of the Westfield Atheneum.

The interesting reference in Mr. Witherell's letter to the visit of Professor Agassiz is based upon the fact that three lectures before the Teacher's Institute were delivered by that world-renowned scientist.

It is worthy of commemoration in a History of Westfield that in the same month the Amherst Express published a most appreciative encomium of the work of one of our citizens referred to in the above communication, praise from an authority of wide reputation, Dr. J. G. Holland, then one of the editors of the Springfield Republican.

One who did so much by long years of devoted labor, as Mr. Johnson accomplished, to extend through our national domain the reputation of a product of this town, is entitled to lasting praise and honor. Other industries, paper, whip and segar, have made the town widely known, but the repute of the organs which have proven the genius and laborious skill of their manufacturers is closely related to one of the fine arts of life, and the reputation thus secured rests on the higher levels of human endeavor.

During the autumn of 1855 and the winter following Westfield enjoyed a series of lectures under the auspices of the Institute, an organization of broad-minded citizens who contributed funds to provide speakers of widely recognized intelligence and popularity. The lectures were open to the public free of charge. Among the speakers were Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D., Rev. Orville Dewey, D.D., Bishop F. D. Huntington, Bayard Taylor, George William Curtis and others.

The response to the opportunity thus provided was very general and enthusiastic.

Jan. 29, 1856, a very notable communication appears, headed "Westfield Free School." "I propose to open a school for the instruction of adult people of this place, who may desire it in reading, writing and spelling. The School will be kept four evenings of each week, commencing at 7 o'clock and ending at 9. Two evenings will be appropriated to males and two to females, each class being taught separately, and the females for the present at least, will attend on Monday and Thursday evenings, and the young men on Tuesday and Friday evenings. The School will be free to all who may choose to come, and without expense to any, unless perhaps those who may feel able may pay for the books they may use. The School room is directly under the Office of the News Letter. Several volunteers have offered their services as teachers, and it is hoped the place may prove useful and agreeable. The first school for females will commence on Thursday next, and that for males on the succeeding Friday evening.

James Fowler."

"Westfield, January 28th, 1856."

Two months later in an editorial notice of it, the enterprise is highly praised, as it well deserved to be: "We have taken a deep interest in this school and have watched its progress with peculiar satisfaction. The pupils, numbering over ninety in all, have made good progress in learning to read, write and spell. They have also received some excellent advice on subjects pertaining to the practical affairs of life. The interest which the pupils have manifested in their studies is encouraging to their teachers, and the progress they have made shows their capability of acquiring knowledge.

We call this a 'know something' movement: and it coincides with our views in regard to the treatment of our foreign population. The projector of this school is worthy of high commendation. But the most strange and commendable thing in the whole matter, in our view, is the fact that the founder of the school, who is nearly seventy years of age and seldom leaves his home during the winter evenings on account of bodily infirmities, has taken the superintendence of the school four evenings each week, and gives instruction and advice to the scholars. Much praise is also due to the estimable lady of Mr. Fowler, who has taken charge of the Ladies' class, two evenings in a week, and has advanced them in their studies with that success which only accompanies competent teachers."

It speaks well for the broad-minded citizenship of Mr. Fowler that he should have conceived the idea of such an enterprise, and his generosity is attested by the self-sacrificing service given by him after having reached a period of life which is commonly marked by a disinclination to assume new responsibilities and resulting burdens. The essential importance of such an effort to decrease illiteracy and to Americanize those who came from foreign shores to take up residence within our national borders came afterward to be recognized by town and commonwealth, and the burden of its support was assumed by the civil authorities. The following year the town voted $200 for its support, and fifty pupils were in attendance.

A movement was begun in March, 1856, to secure a new fence about the park on the Square. It was completed with stone posts the following year, the gift of James Fowler, Esq.

The people of East Granville gathered on May 14 to celebrate a rare event, the sixtieth wedding anniversary of the Rev. Timothy M. Cooley, D.D., and his wife. It was rendered the more significant because both of them were natives of the town and had spent their whole lives there, Dr. Cooley's pastorate having begun Feb. 3, 1796. A hymn of three stanzas, written by Mrs. Sigourney for the occasion, was sung.

The following is an incomplete list of Westfield industries in connection with an account of the annual Western Hampden Agricultural Show and Fair in October, 1860:

American Whip Co., established in May, 1855. Hiram

Harrison, president, Reuben Noble, treasurer; capital stock $200,000; value of whips annually made, $350,000; persons employed, 300; dividends have ranged from 12 to 25 per cent.

Jasper R. Rand, whips and skirting for ladies, valued at $80,000 per year, 75 to 100 hands employed.

Lester Holcomb, whips, 58 hands, $50,000 worth of business annually.

James P. Whipple, whip mountings, 6 hands, $2,500 worth of products.

Gillett, Spencer and Conner, whips, 20 hands, $25,000 annual output.

William Provin, 15 hands, $15,000 annual sales.

Shepard, Holcomb & Cook, $20,000 worth of whips, 20 hands.

Edward Swan, $8,000 worth of whips, 12 hands.

Henry Mygatt, $7,000 worth of whips, 10 hands.

The American Whip Co. manufactured cigars also, to the value of $50,000; for both products the company paid for labor annually $100,000.

The Hampden Cigar Co., established in September, 1857, capital stock $70,000; employing 130 hands, making an aggregate of 5,200,000 cigars annually, at an average price of $20 per thousand.

William H. Harrison, 500,000 cigars, priced at $10 to $30 per thousand; 13 employees.

Minor Worthington, 100,000 cigars, at prices from $22 to $35 per thousand, 7 employees.

Those were the good old days when for three cents an imported cigar could be bought which had a flavor that cannot now be obtained at any price, because the original quality of the best tobacco lands of Cuba has deteriorated, the damage being due to the excessive use of mineral fertilizers.

April 17, 1861. Big headlines announce the "Fall of Fort Sumter! Defense of Major Anderson. No Aid Given by the Fleet!" In another column is "Proclamation by the President! 75,000 Militia Called Out. Congress to Assemble July 4th." In another column, "The War Inaugurated! Fort Sumter Surrendered!! Great Excitement Throughout the North!!!"

A notable union meeting was held in the town hall, which was filled to capacity, on Saturday evening, April 19, the day of the firing on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment in Baltimore.

In 1842 the church purchased from the town the Town House which, as already noted, had been presented by Hon. Samuel Fowler, which stood on what is now the northwest corner of the High School lot. It was to be used as a conference house, the building of the town hall having provided the citizens with ample accommodations for public meetings. It was afterward moved to the north side of the church and later sold to Thomas A. Lewis after the present brick meeting-house had been erected. He fitted it up as a store, and it is included in the present Hosmer block.

The postoffice was located for many years until 1840 in the Ives Block on the corner of Main Street and the Green, where the Government building now stands. It was then moved to a wooden building on the southerly corner of School Street and the Green. The brick block now standing there, long occupied by John W. Colton's drug store, was erected by James Fowler, and the postoffice was moved back to the Ives block. In the early '60s it was transferred to the old Methodist Church building where it remained until the completion of the $75,000 building at present occupied.

The store south of the Ives block which was removed to make room for the postoffice was built by Hiram Hull, and used for many years by Deacon A. G. Chadwick for a general store. He had as a clerk, Darwin L. Gillett, who afterward became the leading merchant of the town, and in turn had as clerk Albert Steiger, who has had such brilliant success in conducting department stores in Springfield, Holyoke and other cities.

The present residence of William B. Reed, 33 Broad Street, was built by Col. David Merwin, who kept a drug store north of the First church. He had a son Newton who was given to elegance of attire. In response to a cry of murder from the second story of the building on Main Street long occupied by the Hewes paint shop, which then stood on the east side of the Green, young Merwin in a white flannel suit rushed up the stairs. It was very soon afterward that Mr. L. F. Thayer in passing saw him rush down the stairs, with a cut forehead and blood running down his clothing. When asked about the trouble he said that "the only trouble was that a damn fool had interfered in a family quarrel." Upon reaching the

room he saw the man with an iron poker threatening the life of his wife. She was wielding a broomstick in self-defense, with which, swerving when Newton appeared, she struck him in the forehead and as he retreated planted another blow on the opposite side of his head.

At the April meeting in 1850 the Congregational society voted the sum of $150 to aid its members residing at East Farms in the erection of a conference house 35 by 20 feet with 12 foot posts, to be used for their local needs for various meetings, the building and land to be the property of the Congregational society. A committee consisting of Enoch A. Root, Hiram Owen and A. G. Chadwick was appointed at the March meeting in 1851 to have charge of the property.

At the society annual meeting in April, 1854, a vote was passed forbidding the use of "the fiddle" at the services of that year. Probably its use was never resumed.

The following characteristic letter from Dr. Davis accentuates the high sense of personal honor which governed that remarkable man: "To the Ecclesiastical Society of the First Congregational Church. Two or three years since when the expenses of supporting a family were increasing rapidly you raised my salary from $1,000 to $1,200, for which I tender you my sincere thanks as I could not otherwise have met my current expenses. I have lived the past year on $1,100 and have reserved $100 to pay a subscription to the new academy which from the relation in which I stand to it I felt obliged to make. I think inasmuch as I am furnished the use of a parsonage and the means of living are considerably cheaper I can get along in future on $1000. You may find it a more delicate matter to reduce than to increase the salary. To relieve you from any embarrassment in the matter I request that from and after the first of June the salary be $1000. I never expected nor have I ever wished to be enriched temporarily by preaching the gospel but simply to live by the gospel.

Yours Respectfully

"Westfield, Apr. 3, 1858. E. Davis"

At the subsequent meeting the society made the pastor's salary $1,100, which was maintained annually until 1866, the year of his death, when it was raised to $1,500. An annuity

of $300 was paid his widow until at the end of ten years she requested that it be discontinued.

The following record is interesting:

"Westfield, Mar. 27, '60. A Stone Monument about 18 inches long, 4 in. square at the top & about 6 in. square at the bottom was set this day at the north west corner of the old Cong. church, the center of the stone being the exact corner of the old house. Said stone was set by Dea. A. G. Chadwick, Dr. Jehiel Abbott & L. F. Thayer and witnessed by A. B. Whitman and Charles Fowler. Note. The basement of the present conference house stands eighteen feet & eight inches, 18 8/12 from the North wall of the old church as measured by A. G. Chadwick, Dr. J. Abbott & L. F. Thayer."

The old Bulfinch church building was purchased by Hon. William G. Bates, moved to a lot back of its old location, and, the steeple having been taken down, used for carriage making and other purposes for many years, until destroyed by fire.

The present church building was erected in 1860, with L. F. Thayer as architect and George Green as builder. The efficient work of the latter was so highly appreciated when completed that the society voted him a gift of $500.

The parsonage on Court Street was built in 1868.

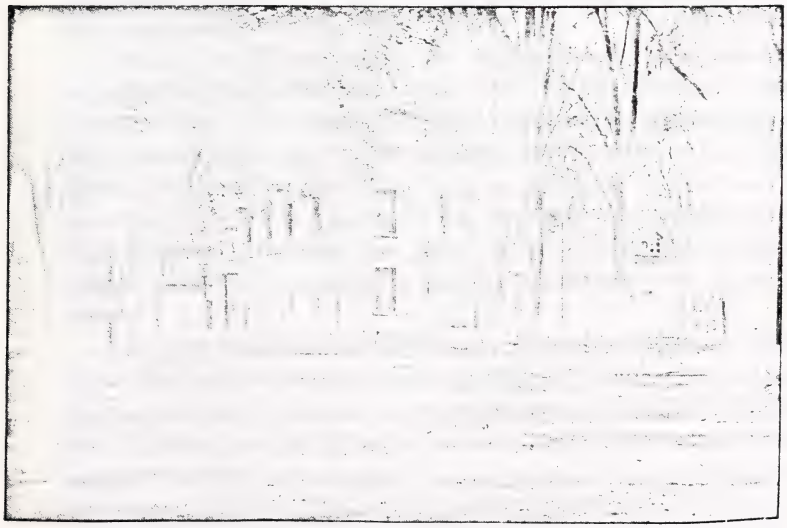
Dr. J. C. Greenough is authority for a characteristic anecdote related by his Father-in-law, William G. Bates, with great gusto. When the new building was about to be opened for worship, Mr. Bates and Dr. Davis, who were warm personal friends, went to inspect it. Mr. Bates settled into a pew and asked the doctor to step up into the pulpit and say a few words. Upon being asked for an explanation he replied that he only wanted to see whether he could sleep as readily and comfortably as in the old building.

It is a most significant fact that to Westfield and its historic First church belongs the honor of having originated a custom which has spread over the whole country in annual observance. The Valley Echo of June 15, 1915, thus relates the origin of Children's Day in the Sunday school: "It may not be generally known, especially among younger people, that Children's Day, which is an outgrowth of 'Flower Sunday,' without doubt originated in this town, and the founder

was the late H. B. Smith. It was in June, 1861, in the First Congregational church, when Rev. Dr. Emerson Davis was pastor, that the first Children's Day was held, on the anniversary of the Sunday school, and soon after the occupancy of the new church. Dr. Davis consented to give up the regular afternoon service on that day, and give the time to the school. At the suggestion of Mr. Smith (who was superintendent of the school), knowing Dr. Davis' love for flowers, and to celebrate the occasion, the children brought offerings of flowers. Dr. Davis stood by the communion table to receive the flowers, as the children marched past him, and the bouquets completely covered the table, pulpit, and a part of the railing. After this, every year, the custom was kept up, and in addition to bringing the flowers, the children gave recitations and songs. Dr. Davis died in 1866, and the Flower Sunday following, the children marched to the cemetery and placed flowers on his grave. This was also done in after years. In the early days of the observance at the First church, different classes would bring in floral set pieces and there was a great profusion of flowers. At various times discussions have arisen as to the origin of Children's Day, and a church in New Jersey thought it had that distinction, having first observed such a day in 1866. Some years ago, a Universalist church in Chelsea is said to have the honor, claiming that in 1858, a day for the baptism of children was celebrated, but that was not like the real children's flower Sunday; that seems to have been the outgrowth of Mr. Smith's suggestion in 1861. Mr. Smith was superintendent of the First church Sunday school for many years, and at the completion of serving 25 years in that capacity the church presented him with a silver service. Large numbers of the normal school students were attendants at the Sunday school in those days, and it is but natural that they should have gone to their homes and told of the Children's Day in Westfield, thus spreading broadcast the observance of the day."

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE ATHENEUM ON MAIN STREET.

The land on which it stood and funds for its erection were generously donated by Mr. Hiram Harrison. The Second Congregational Church building is shown beyond it.



WESTFIELD ATHENEUM.

On the corner of Court Street facing Park Square, the premises having been the gift of the Westfield Academy Fund Trustees in 1899. The building was originally the residence of Hon. James Fowler. Hon. E. B. Gillett lived in the next house east of this.

CHAPTER XI.

The Westfield Atheneum.

In the closing years of the eighteenth century there was in Westfield an unpretentious library which provided reading matter for some of the people. Gen. William Shepard was one of its patrons and promoters, an officer in the society which had it in charge. Many years ago there was in the Atheneum a small book containing some of its records. Unfortunately the precious data are no longer available, and no one seems to have preserved a copy of them.

The enterprise was primitive and ephemeral, and may have been an early but feeble effort on the part of a few citizens to avail themselves of the provisions of the law of 1798 relative to "Social Libraries" to which Mr. Whitney refers in his historical sketch, or it may have anticipated such action of the Great and General Court. Ever since its establishment as a fully equipped institution, Jan. 1, 1868, the Westfield Atheneum has pursued a career of steadily increasing usefulness in the community.

During its earlier decades the people were slow in reaching adequate appreciation of its value, and its promoters were too conservative to prosecute broadest plans for its helpfulness to the general public and to the schools of the town; but the more liberal policy of recent years, both on the part of the town in providing for its support and on the part of its trustees in enlarging its privileges, has made it an institution of inestimable value to a steadily enlarging constituency of habitual users.

The historical address delivered at the opening to the public of the present building, the stately old Fowler homestead, by the esteemed president of its board of trustees, Hon. Milton B. Whitney, covers so fully, so accurately, and so ably the subject therein treated, that it seems most fitting and judicious to preserve its most important features in this local history.

The exercises on that significant and interesting occasion, March 6, 1899, were carried out in the following order: histor-

ical address, Hon. M. B. Whitney; presentation to town, Rev. John H. Lockwood; response of town officials, C. N. Oakes; responses on behalf of the people, Dr. H. M. Miller; prayer, Rev. L. H. Blake.

Mr. Whitney spoke as follows:

Massachusetts is entitled to rank first among all the states of the Union in respect of her libraries, first not only in priority of time, but first in the number and importance of these institutions.

The first library established in the United States was at Cambridge, Mass., in connection with Harvard College, in 1688, one hundred and fifteen years before the foundation of the British Museum. The Boston Public Library is the largest and most valuable free public library in the world, supported by municipal taxation. Franklin and his associates established the first circulating or proprietary library of which there is any record, at Philadelphia, in 1731, but it was at first a mere voluntary association without legislative sanction for its existence. As far back as 1798, one hundred and one years ago, a law was enacted in Massachusetts by which seven or more persons might form themselves into a "Society or Body Politic" to be called by the name of the "Proprietors of the Social Library in the town of ———" for the purpose of holding and maintaining a library with power to sue and be sued, to make by-laws and affix penalties for the violation thereof. This law, with some amendments thereto, among which is one repealing the requirement as to the name of such corporation, is still in force today.

Under this act a library association was formed in Westfield about 1830, by the name of "The Westfield Social Library," chiefly through the efforts of the late Hon. Wm. G. Bates, which continued in existence about twenty years. Rules for the management of the library were adopted by which the use of the library was granted to non-proprietors for $1.50 for one year, and the "use of books except the Encyclopedia for one year for $1.00." "Books loaned to non-proprietors at 12½ cents, and 6¼ cents for smaller volumes." Price of proprietors' shares was fixed at five dollars. The number of original proprietors was about twenty, and their names so far as can now be ascertained were as follows: Wm. G. Bates, Elijah Bates,

Rev. Isaac Knapp, Emerson Davis, Hon. James Fowler, Col. David Moseley, Norman T. Leonard, Ira Yeamans, Jr., Rhoda Ballantine, Samuel Mather, Patrick Boise, Dr. Jehiel Abbott, Col. Wm. Hooker, Virgil Holland, Alexander Jessup, Charles A. Jessup, Augustus E. Jessup, Dea. J. H. Stowe, Cephas Cobb. The above names were furnished me by Mr. Henry B. Smith, who gave them from recollection.

The library was at first located in the office of Mr. Bates, and he was the first librarian. It continued in existence until 1850, when the volumes then on hand were sold to H. B. Smith, who with them started a circulating library in his bookstore in Elm Park block next to the Hampden National bank. The enterprise not proving a marked success, Mr. Smith sold the entire library to Dr. Simeon Shurtleff, from whose estate it came into the possession of the Atheneum, as a part of the Shurtleff library, so-called.

About 1859 a number of farmers and other citizens formed themselves into an association by the name of the "Westfield Farmers' and Mechanics' Institute," which held regular meetings for the discussion of subjects appertaining to agriculture. Money was raised by subscription with which several hundred volumes, mostly upon subjects of agriculture and horticulture, were purchased and placed in the Westfield Academy for safe keeping, and for the use of its pupils in the agricultural department of the academy, the principal of the academy, who was then J. B. Holland, being the librarian. Soon after the Atheneum was established the remaining volumes of this library, 303 in number, were presented by the Westfield academy to this institution, and they are now a part of its collection of books. I have found no evidence of the existence of any other proprietary or corporate library in Westfield prior to the establishment of the Westfield Atheneum.

Massachusetts enacted a law in 1837, approved April 12, 1837, under which each school district in the Commonwealth was authorized to raise money by taxation for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a common school library for the use of the children therein. * * The resolve of 1842 was repealed in 1850, and the system of school district libraries was superseded by that of city and town libraries, established in 1851. I have been unable to find any satisfactory evidence

that a school district library was ever established in Westfield under this law.

The last half of the nineteenth century, in many respects the most remarkable half century in the world's history, has been distinguished in a striking manner by the development and rapid growth of free public libraries throughout the United States and especially in Massachusetts. In this movement Massachusetts was the pioneer of all the States in the Union. In May, 1851, an act was passed by which any city or town of this Commonwealth was authorized to establish and maintain a library therein, and to raise and appropriate money for the support thereof. Other acts were subsequently passed to further encourage the establishment of these institutions. In 1873 any city or town was authorized to appropriate such sum annually as it may see fit toward defraying the expenses of maintaining any library therein to which its inhabitants are allowed free access for the purpose of using the same on the premises. * *

In 1864, the year in which the Westfield Atheneum was incorporated, there were 75 cities and towns having free libraries; in 1890, the number of such cities and towns had increased to 248, and on Feb. 13, 1899, to 346, leaving only seven towns in the Commonwealth without free public libraries. * *

The establishment of the Westfield Atheneum was mainly due to the liberality and public spirit of Samuel Mather and Hiram Harrison, both natives of the town. Mr. Harrison was one of the youngest of a numerous family of children, and by reason of the straitened circumstances of his father, he enjoyed very limited educational opportunities in his youth, his schooling being restricted to an attendance during a few months in each year, not exceeding a year in the aggregate, at the district school in the outlying district of the town in which his father then resided.

Early in life he engaged in the manufacture of whips, which business he pursued with such energy and success during the greater part of his active life, that, notwithstanding the drawback of his scant education, he rose to be the head of the largest manufactory of its kind in the world, and prior to his death had amassed a considerable fortune. He spent nearly the entire period of his life in his native town, took an active inter-

est in all measures which tended to promote its prosperity and highest welfare, and died here in January, 1869, universally respected by his fellow-citizens.

He frequently deplored his lack of an early education and during the latter years of his life announced his purpose to erect a suitable building for a public library, which should bring within the reach of the youth, and especially the common laborer, opportunities for education and self-improvement of which he had keenly felt the need. In pursuance of this cherished purpose he erected the handsome brick building with brownstone trimmings, situated on Main Street, at a cost of about $10,000, and conveyed it, with the land upon which it stands, by deed, dated Jan. 9, 1867, as a free gift to the Westfield Atheneum for the purposes of a public library.

Mr. Samuel Mather was a lineal descendant of Rev. Richard Mather, the progenitor of the Mather family in New England. He was a man of industry and frugality, of kindly feelings and generous impulses, well posted in the current events of the day, a good conversationalist and highly respected by his friends and associates. He was a farmer by occupation, and was actively engaged in agricultural pursuits in his native town during the greater part of his life, but in his declining years he sold his farm, and passed the remainder of his days in comparative leisure.

Shortly previous to 1864 Mr. Mather, then a resident of Hartford, Conn., indicated his purpose to donate the sum of $10,000 as a fund to aid in the support of a library and reading room in his native town; and at his suggestion, a special act of incorporation, being Chapter 88 of the Acts of 1864, approved March 11, 1864, was obtained by which Samuel Mather, Hiram Harrison and Cutler Laflin, their associates and successors, were incorporated under the name of the Westfield Atheneum, to be established in the town of Westfield, for the purpose of maintaining a library and reading room, and promoting public instruction by lectures and otherwise, with authority to hold the donation of Samuel Mather, and all other donations, bequests and devises which are or may be hereafter made, and also to hold real estate to the value of $30,000, and personal estate to the value of $100,000.

The first meeting for organization was held on Dec. 15,

1866, and by adjournment on Dec. 18, 1866, at which meetings Wm. G. Bates, E. B. Gillett, D. N. Day, L. F. Thayer, Dr. J. H. Waterman, Edwin Smith, Charles A. Jessup, Lyman Lewis, Henry Hooker, Thomas Kneil, J. C. Greenough, Andrew Campbell, 1st, Myron M. Lloyd, J. W. Dickinson and M. B. Whitney were elected associate members, and an organization was effected by the adoption of temporary by-laws, and the choice of the following officers to serve until the next annual meeting: Wm. G. Bates, president; Cutler Laflin, vice-president; Charles A. Jessup, treasurer; James H. Waterman, secretary; and a board of thirteen directors.

Shortly after this, Mr. Mather delivered to the treasurer $10,000 in United States Government bonds as a permanent fund, the income to be applied toward the payment of the salary of the librarian, heating and lighting the library building and other incidental expenses. This fund, called the "Mather fund," has been kept separate from the other funds of the Atheneum, and the income has always been applied to the objects designated by its founder. Mr. Mather did not live long enough to witness any of the practical results of his generosity, but died soon after his gift to the Atheneum. He is called upon its records the "founder of this Institution."

At a meeting of the directors on Dec. 22, 1866, a committee, of which Samuel Fowler was the efficient chairman, was chosen to solicit subscriptions, and the sum of ten thousand dollars was raised by private subscription among the citizens of Westfield and former residents of the town to be expended solely for the purchase of books. The largest contribution was that of Henry T. Morgan of New York City, a native of Westfield, amounting to $3,500. The names of the persons who subscribed $100 or over with the sum given by each are as follows: Cutler Laflin and Chas. A. Jessup, $1,000 each; Wm. G. Bates, Henry J. Bush, Edw. B. Gillett, Geo. L. Laflin, and Samuel Fowler, $500 each; Royal Phelps of New York City, L. R. Norton, W. O. Fletcher, Thomas Ashley, and Samuel Horton of Westfield, $100 each; H. B. Smith and Edwin Smith furnished the library building with a steam heater, valued at $1,000, as a free gift.

The first regular annual meeting of the corporation was held on the first Wednesday in February, 1867, when the same

officers elected at the meeting in December, were re-elected for one year with the exception that five other persons were added to the directors then elected. * *

Rules were established under which any person, upon payment of two dollars, was entitled to the full use of the library and reading room for one year, including the right to draw two books at one time to be kept out two weeks.

The hours during which the library and reading room were to be kept open were fixed at from 2 to 5 P.M. and from 7 to 9 P.M. every week day, except legal holidays, and so remained until 1895.

The entire care and supervision of the library and reading room, including the selection and purchase of books, periodicals and newspapers, was placed in the hands of a library committee, consisting of five members, elected by the directors and such a committee, clothed with the same powers, has been chosen annually from that time to the present. The first library committee consisted of the following named persons: H. B. Smith, E. B. Gillett, Henry Hopkins, Thomas Kneil and M. B. Whitney. One member of said committee [Mr. Whitney] has served continuously from that time to the present.

The library and reading room were opened for use on the first day of January, 1868, under the charge of Miss Mary Smith as temporary librarian. The library then had upon its shelves 1,351 bound volumes, and the reading room was supplied with a good collection of periodicals and newspapers. Rev. Sewall Lamberton was soon afterwards chosen as the first regular librarian, at a salary of $400 per annum, "his duties to embrace the care of the fires and rooms."

New books were added to the library from time to time to meet the public demand, and so rapid was the increase that the library had upon its shelves 5,810 bound volumes on January 1, 1873.

In May, 1885, the rules were so amended as to give to each teacher in the public schools of Westfield the right without charge to draw from the library books "calculated to render more thorough and valuable the instructions given to the pupils." This action was taken by the Atheneum before it had ever received any aid from the town in its corporate capacity. At the annual meeting of the corporation on February

3, 1886, the by-laws were so amended as to make the chairman of the board of selectmen, the chairman of the school committee and the principal of the high school, directors "during such time as they shall respectively hold such positions." On the same day the chairman of the school committee was made a member of the library committee by the vote of the directors, and was so elected annually thereafter until 1895.

In March, 1886, the town by vote appropriated the dog tax to the use of the Atheneum, and has continued such appropriation each year to the present time. This tax the first year was $535.04, and the average sum per annum received from that source has been $699.07.

In March, 1895, greatly enlarged free rights were given to the teachers in the public schools of the town upon the recommendation of the library committee, "the books to be drawn by the teachers for the use of the pupils, both in schools and for home reading, to supplement regular school work, and to inculcate good reading habits."

A notable change in the management of the library was made by a vote of the directors on April 24, 1895, by which the use of the library and reading room was made free to any inhabitant of the town fourteen years of age or over, under the rules and regulations from time to time established. This change took practical effect on May 10, 1895. This action was taken in pursuance of a temporary arrangement entered into between the Atheneum and the town through a special committee appointed for that purpose on the part of the town at its meeting in April, 1895, at which meeting the town appropriated $750 in addition to the dog tax upon condition that the library should be made free. Under this arrangement seven of the Atheneum directors resigned their positions, and the vacancies thus created were filled by the election of seven persons to serve until the next annual meeting, to represent the interests of the town, and who had been nominated by certain boards of town officers according to an agreed plan for their nomination. These seven persons thus elected were R. H. Kneil, Rev. John H. Lockwood, H. N. Kingsbury, James H. Bryan, O. C. Towle, D. F. Doherty and George H. Loomis. These same persons have been re-elected annually ever since as directors representing the town. * *

The additional labor cast upon the librarian by reason of the library being free, rendered necessary the employment of an assistant librarian, and Mrs. Julia S. Loomis was appointed to that position in May, 1895, with a salary of $400 per year.

The need of enlarged quarters for the use of the library and reading room, which had been apparent for several years, was made doubly urgent as soon as the library was made free. Before that event various projects for obtaining suitable library quarters elsewhere had been entertained and discussed by the directors of the Atheneum from time to time, but none gave promise of success, and all were abandoned. As early as 1895 an attempt was made to raise money by subscription sufficient to purchase the James Fowler homestead, and several thousands of dollars were subscribed by the present and former residents of Westfield for that purpose, but it becoming apparent that the desired sum could not be raised at that time, this project was also abandoned for the time being.

In this exigency the trustees of Westfield Academy, at a meeting held on April 8, 1898, voted to convey to the Westfield Atheneum, without any consideration therefor, the lot of land on the corner of Court and Elm Streets, which is known as the "Fowler homestead," with the buildings thereon, whenever authority therefor shall have been procured from the legislature.

The town voted unanimously at a meeting held on April 4, 1898, to approve of such a conveyance. This action was deemed advisable on account of the interest which the town had in the income of the funds of said trustees for the support of its High school.

By Chapter 450 of the Acts of 1898 the legislature authorized said trustees to convey to the Westfield Atheneum, without any actual consideration paid therefor, the aforesaid tract of land with the buildings thereon. In pursuance of said authority the trustees did execute and deliver to said Atheneum a deed of said premises dated June 21, 1898, as a free gift to hold for the uses of said Atheneum. The trustees were led to this generous act because it seemed to them to present the most feasible mode of giving practical effect to the thought expressed in the opening words of the preamble to the act incorporating "The Trustees of Westfield Academy," passed June 17, 1793,

which are as follows: "Whereas the encouragement of literature among the rising generation has ever been considered by the wise and good as an object of the most serious attention."

The library committee was appointed on July 5, 1898, by vote, a building committee with authority to make such repairs and alterations in and upon the dwelling house recently conveyed to the Atheneum and to procure necessary heating apparatus and such cases, furniture and fixtures as they deemed necessary, to suitably fit said house for the uses of the public library, and to remove the whole or any part of the books from their present location to the new building when fitted for occupancy, provided the total cost shall not exceed $4,000. The sum was subsequently increased to $5,600.

This remodeled building now thrown open to your inspection, stands upon the most desirable lot in town. It furnishes convenient and ample quarters for all the needs of the library and reading room, not only for the present, but also for its probable future growth for at least a score of years. It contains a room set apart as a museum for the collection and preservation of objects illustrative of the early history of Westfield and vicinity, and of other objects possessing special interest.

The vacant lot in front of this building should be preserved intact for the erection of a beautiful library building at some time in the future, which should be an honor to the town and a fit home for the Atheneum.

The following donations have been made to the Atheneum since its organization:

In 1872, Mrs. Cynthia Eldredge, wife of John B. Eldredge of Hartford, Conn., and a sister of Samuel Mather, gave $1,000 to the Atheneum.

In 1874, Mrs. Pamela B. Taylor gave $100 to the institution at the particular request of her late husband, Major George Taylor, a lifelong resident of the town.

At her death in 1888, Miss Fanny B. Bates, the talented daughter of Wm. G. Bates, and herself, like her father, a warm friend of the Atheneum, left a written memorandum among her papers, expressing her intention to give the sum of $1,000 to the Atheneum upon condition that an alcove should be maintained in its library bearing the name of "Bates alcove." The heirs of Miss Bates signified their purpose to give practi-

cal effect to her intended gift, but this has not been done hitherto, because no suitable unoccupied space had been found for such alcove in the building, recently occupied. Now that the institution is in possession of a new building, with suitable space for such an alcove, this gift will doubtless be made available.

Edward Taylor, late of Andover, Mass., a native of Westfield, and a lineal descendant of Rev. Edward Taylor, the first settled pastor of the First church of Westfield, bequeathed by his last will to the Westfield Atheneum the sum of $500, "the income to be used for the purchase of books for the library." In his will he declared this bequest to be made "in memory of the home of my youth." The first installment of this bequest was received by the Atheneum November 30, 1884.

Speaking of my associates in the directorate of the Atheneum from its incorporation to the present time, I can testify from personal knowledge that these men have given loyal, unselfish and devoted service to the institution and have labored earnestly to promote its best interests. The Atheneum was exceptionally fortunate in having as my predecessors in the office of President two such men as Hon. Wm. G. Bates and Hon. E. B. Gillett. Although very unlike in many respects, both were men of liberal education, of fine literary culture, of wide and extensive knowledge of books, and of good practical judgment. Mr. Bates gave much valuable time and service in the inception of the enterprise and in putting the library into practical operation.

Samuel Fowler, as a member of the library committee for many years, gave to the Atheneum the benefit of his varied experience at home and abroad, and his remarkably extensive and intimate acquaintance with the best literature. The names of many others who have passed away, might well be mentioned did time permit. Henry B. Smith, the only living honorary life director, is entitled to much credit for the energy and zeal which he displayed in advancing the enterprise at the start and in putting it into successful operation. To Samuel Mather and Hiram Harrison a lasting debt of gratitude is due from this community and this institution. Memorial tablets should be placed upon the walls of this building in commemoration of their worth as men and citizens and of their generosity to the Westfield Atheneum. A list of the names of all the officers

and librarians of the Atheneum since its permanent organization, with the length of their respective terms of office, is appended to this sketch.

The whole number of bound volumes borne on the accession book on the first day of January, 1899, was 15,689, not including the Shurtleff library of 1,440 volumes. Adding the latter number makes a total of 17,129 volumes.

Such substantially was Mr. Whitney's memorable address.

The following officers have served the Atheneum in their respective capacities from its organization to 1919:

Presidents

William G. Bates from 1867 to his death July 4, 1880.
Edward B. Gillett from 1881 to 1893, when he resigned.
M. B. Whitney from 1893 to his death Sept. 8, 1915.
James C. Greenough from 1916 to the present.

Vice-Presidents

Cutler Laflin, 1867 to 1877.
Samuel Fowler from 1878 to his death in 1888.
Henry W. Bates from 1889 to 1891.
James C. Greenough from 1891 to 1916.
Herbert W. Kittredge from 1916 to the present.

Treasurers

Charles A. Jessup from 1867 to 1872.
Henry W. Bates from 1872 to 1887.
Charles L. Weller from 1887 to 1893.
Herbert L. Lyman from 1893 to 1899.
Frank Grant from 1899 to the present.

Secretaries

James H. Waterman from 1867 to 1870.
Henry Holland from 1870 to 1906.
Herbert N. Kingsbury from 1906 to his death 1919.
William F. Lyman, elected Dec. 18, 1919.

Auditors

L. R. Norton from 1870 to 1908.
William F. Lyman from 1908 to the present.

Honorary Life Directors

William G. Bates, Mrs. Cynthia Eldredge, Hartford, Conn.
Samuel Fowler, Edward B. Gillett, Cutler Laflin.
George L. Laflin, Henry T. Morgan, New York City.
Edwin Smith, Henry B. Smith.

Directors (arranged alphabetically)

George Andrews, H. J. Bush, Rev. L. H. Blake, J. H. Bryan, J. D. Cadle, Andrew Campbell, 1st, J. W. Colton, J. W. Dickinson, D. F. Doherty, Samuel Fowler, W. O. Fletcher, E. B. Gillett, Frank Grant, J. C. Greenough, Henry Holland, Rev. Henry Hopkins, Henry Hooker, J. A. Kenyon, H. N. Kingsbury, H. W. Kittredge, R. H. Kneil, Thomas Kneil, George L. Laflin, Rev. John H. Lockwood, George H. Loomis, M. M. Lloyd, R. J. Morrisey, Reuben Noble, L. R. Norton, Lewis C. Parker, C. K. Prince, H. B. Putnam, Henry B. Smith, William T. Smith, L. F. Thayer, O. C. Towle, M. B. Whitney.

Librarians

Rev. Sewall Lamberton, 1868 to 1874.
P. L. Buell, 1874 to 1885.
Frances V. Morse, 1885 to 1888.
Frances Fowler, 1888 to 1890.
Esther B. Fowler, 1890 to 1893.
Mary H. Bisbee, 1893 to 1899.
George Stockwell, 1899 to 1902.
H. W. Denio, 1902 to 1907.
George L. Lewis, 1907 to 1919.
Harold L. Wooster, 1919 to ——.

In the hall of the Atheneum at the right of the Court Street entrance hangs a portrait which was presented to the corporation in the following letter:

"Cambridge, Mass.
January 7, 1904.

Samuel J. Fowler, Harold N. Fowler and Frances Fowler offer for the acceptance of the Westfield Atheneum the accompanying portrait of their Grandfather, the Hon. James Fowler, born in Westfield, Jan. 4, 1789, died in Westfield, Oct. 18, 1873, in the house now occupied by the Atheneum."

The crowded condition of the present building hampering considerably the usefulness of the library, which has expanded so greatly during recent years, renders more significant and timely the provision made for it in the will of its late President, Milton B. Whitney. He munificently bequeathed to it the sum of $80,000, to be left to accumulate for five years and then to be used for the erection of a building on the lot

now occupied. He also made the Atheneum his residuary legatee, and provided that it should receive, upon the death of his widow, the principal of a fund amounting now to more than $100,000 the income of which she is to enjoy during her lifetime.

A condition of this generous bequest is that the name of the institution shall be changed and become "The Whitney Public Library." That greatly exceeds any amount hitherto bequeathed for public benefits to the town and will furnish valuable assistance in improving and maintaining this most beneficent institution.

CHAPTER XII.

The Civil War

The first premonitions of the Civil War appear in the News Letter at the advent of 1861. On January 9 an item refers to the sailing of the steamer "Star of the West" from New York with twenty-five troops to reinforce Major Anderson at Charleston. There is also an account of a sensational occurrence at West Farms on Wednesday, January 2.

Mr. Charles C. Burleigh had sent word to Mr. Joseph King of a lecture which he would deliver at the schoolhouse if arrangements should be made and notice should be given. On arriving there Mr. Burleigh and his friends found it occupied by some men who were opposed to the delivery of the lecture. To buttress their opposition they had put pepper on the stove. In the interests of peace the party retired to the house of Rev. A. H. Stearns, where about seventy-five people heard the lecture. Later arrangements were made for another lecture, and the consent of the prudential committee was secured to have it delivered in the schoolhouse. At the appointed time and place Mr. Burleigh began to speak, but at the end of a half hour a man came to the door and declared, "We have come after that damned black republican and we are going to have him." Thereupon some young men in the audience rallied to the defense of the speaker and shouted, "You can't have him." During a general scuffle which ensued a lamp containing burning fluid was thrown upon the stove and broken. The stove was overturned and live coals were scattered upon the floor. F. E. Merriman, Esq., made out a writ which he gave to Officer Mallory to arrest Mr. Burleigh for assault and battery. But it was not executed, and the lecturer and his friends were left in possession of the house. It was supposed that the fire had been fully extinguished, but it broke out again about 11 o'clock and the old building was consumed. The affair caused widespread excitement and acrimonious debate in

the public press, including a virulent communication from Westfield in the Hartford Times.

The issue of the Westfield News Letter of April 24, 1861, is replete with material relating to the nascent war. In its Review of the Week there are sundry items in regard to the respective responses of various towns to the appeal of the country for its defense from traitorous hands. Northampton had voted in town meeting $25,000 to defend the Union and was forming two or three companies of volunteers. Williamsburg, Hatfield and Hadley were also gathering companies. North Adams had voted $4,000, which it was hoped to more than double, for the support of the families of those who should take the field, and had a company nearly organized. Amherst college took the lead among the colleges, having organized, after prayer, a company of sixty from the different classes in less than an hour and forwarded the list of names to Governor Andrew.

In Boston many women who had received from husbands, fathers and brothers, money for expensive garments, had contented themselves with poor materials and contributed the difference to national needs. The hill town of Blandford was forming two companies of reputable citizens, many of them members of the wealthiest families of the town.

It was noted that the Rev. Gilbert Haven, formerly a pastor of the Methodist church of Westfield and afterward for many years an honored bishop, was observed in his uniform of chaplain of the 5th Massachusetts regiment, passing through Springfield on the previous Sunday. A Westfield man, seeing him there, tapped him on the shoulder and asked him if he was not in new business on the Sabbath. He replied, "Yes, indeed, I am; but there were no Sundays in Revolutionary times."

That the atmosphere of Westfield was surcharged with patriotic fervor is abundantly evidenced. The employees of the Hampden Cigar Company had raised a flag with appropriate ceremonies, several speeches having been made and music having been furnished by the Westfield brass band. Lucius F. Thayer, anxious to have an American flag displayed at every street corner, set a good example by placing a pole in front of his residence at the foot of Broad Street from which

floated a banner made by patriotic women. Many other flags were raised in various parts of the village. The firm of Snow & Thayer agreed to retain in their service any of their employees who might enlist.

The following letter from the Hon. James Fowler was read at a great massmeeting in the town hall on Saturday evening, April 20, the day following the attack on the Sixth Massachusetts regiment in Baltimore:

"Friends and Fellow Citizens—It having been intimated to me that as one of the seniors of the town I might possibly be invited to preside over your deliberations this evening, I feel it my duty to state that such is the present condition of my health that it will be entirely impracticable for me to meet with you on this occasion: a duty which under other circumstances, I should esteem a privilege. In every effort to maintain the laws of our country and to sustain its government, I trust that I shall ever be found ready to co-operate with any feasible plan which the citizens of Westfield may devise to aid the government in overcoming all treasonable opposition to its lawful measures, and in conducting them to a successful issue. Whatever may have been our past political differences as to men or measures; while this contest continues let there be but one party—the party of the UNION—into which all shall be equally acceptable; provided only that they show an earnest and resolute purpose to sustain the Union in the present trying conflict, and all laws made by the government constitutionally appointed over us."

The meeting packed the town hall, to take measures for the enrollment of a volunteer company and to raise money for its equipment. Thomas Kneil was chosen temporary chairman, and Mr. Fowler's letter having been read, Hiram Harrison was chosen president, with J. M. Ely, Thomas Kneil, and Joseph Arnold, vice-presidents, and Samuel Dow, secretary. Mr. Harrison in taking the chair made a ringing speech, pledging his "life, fortune and sacred honor" if necessary to the protection of the Stars and Stripes floating from the corners of the streets and from almost every dwelling in town. Thomas Kneil followed with a stirring address demanding that the outrage at Baltimore should be redressed, and con-

cluding with a demand "that these traitorous rebels may be forced back to their native hell." The fact of his prominence in the Methodist church gave peculiar emphasis to that punitive decision.

Reuben Noble, a leading democrat, then postmaster, appealed for decisive action as a result of that great representative meeting of citizens. He said: "Mr. President, you have gone over the whole ground, we now want the names of those who are willing to serve their country. I do not propose to go unless absolutely necessary, but I am willing to help sustain those who do go, and take care of their families at home. I pledged myself to-day in company with another gentleman to secure one thousand dollars, but I see by the spirit of the meeting that I shall not be called upon to do it. You, Mr. President, are going to give liberally in this crisis of affairs: others are going to do the same. We want now the men. This is no ruse: we mean what we say. Those who know me know that I mean just what I say, and do all I promise."

Joseph Ely, Lester Holcomb and James Noble followed in vigorous speeches. M. B. Whitney suggested that the town should make an appropriation of money to meet the existing needs, and that its records should show future generations what it had done. Henry Fuller moved that a committee should be appointed to solicit funds, and to notify the selectmen on Monday to call a town meeting one week later to consider the matter. The motion was carried and the committee was appointed, consisting of Hiram Harrison, Thomas Kneil, Henry Fuller, M. B. Whitney, Cutler Laflin. During the meeting recruiting was progressing. To prosecute it farther a committee was appointed, L. B. Walkley, A. Campbell, Reuben Noble. Major Walkley, who had been a sergeant in the regular army during the Florida war, was called forward, and said that if the young men of Westfield wanted his services he was ready to lead them, though feeling that business and family affairs required his presence at home. The meeting adjourned with prolonged cheers. Within a few days the first company of volunteers of Hampden county was organized with a full complement of eighty men, and accepted by the selectmen. So many of them as had then

enlisted marched in a body to the First church on the evening after the massmeeting on Saturday the 20th to attend a union meeting. The room was decorated with flags, Mr. Bowler of the Second church preached, and choir and congregation united in rendering patriotic songs.

An item of the News Letter of May 1 contains the report of an interview which the Hon. E. B. Gillett had recently secured with Mrs. Lincoln in Washington. He asked her if she saw much of her husband in those perilous times. She replied, "Oh no! he now gets up before 6 o'clock in the morning, and I do not see him again until dinnertime, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and when at home it used to be hard work to get him out of bed before 9 o'clock."

The town meeting called pursuant to that motion, adopted on April 29, 1861, was a notable one as regards the language of the proposition to be considered and as regards the formal action taken in the national exigency then pressing. Thomas Kneil was elected moderator. The following significant preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted, having been presented and moved by Samuel Fowler: "Whereas, an armed and extensive insurrection, amounting to civil war and threatening the security of the Capitol and the existence of the Government of the United States, has reduced our political differences to the single question of the maintenance or obstruction of the Government and the Union. And, Whereas, the decision of this question now suddenly thrust upon the people of the United States is to be made by themselves and in such a manner as to determine whether they are worthy and capable of those free institutions in which we proudly and affectionately recognize the source of our prosperity in the past and of our hopes and the hopes of mankind for the future, or to become the prey of anarchy and uncertainty. And, Whereas, it is the ancient policy of this town in times of exigency and danger as exhibited in numerous passages of its records during the Revolutionary War to act in its corporate capacity for the defence of our common country, therefore

"Resolved, That it is incumbent upon all citizens and all bodies by every consideration of interest and of duty to show their patriotic sentiments by word and act, in order to make

known the opinions of the great body of the people, and bring the present unhappy contest to a speedy end. Resolved, That the blessings and the memories of our National Union are too great and too precious to be abandoned, its flag too glorious to be tarnished or torn, that we pledge our unalterable attachment to the nation, the Union and the flag, and our unqualified support of their representatives and constituted authorities. Resolved, That we hail with delight the evidence in the conduct of her government, her people and her soldiers, that the Massachusetts of to-day is not inferior to the Massachusetts of her forefathers, and that no effort nor sacrifice of ours shall be wanting to maintain her in the place where she stood, as she stood long ago, first in the field.

"Voted That the sum of ten thousand dollars ($10,000) be raised and appropriated by the town for the equipment and outfit of volunteers from this town and for their pay from the time they enter upon their drilling at the same rate as allowed by the government when in actual service, and in aid of their families during their absence in actual service. Voted, That this money be under the control of a committee of nine to be appointed by the town, and who shall render an account of the expenditure thereof at the annual town meeting and the treasurer is hereby directed to pay it out of the treasury under their order. Voted, That the treasurer is hereby authorized and directed to borrow the said sum in installments from time to time as the committee shall require upon the credit of the town and to give the notes of the town therefor. Voted, That a committee of five be appointed by the moderator to nominate a committee of nine for the purposes above specified."

The moderator named James Noble, Jr., Charles Jessup, H. B. Smith, E. B. Gillett, Hiram Hull, who brought in the names of Hiram Harrison, Cutler Laflin, Samuel Fowler, William O. Fletcher, Thomas Kneil, Henry Fuller, Edwin Smith, Reuben Noble and Royal Weller. They were approved by the meeting.

Samuel Fowler, the author of the preamble and resolutions, was the son of Hon. James Fowler, whose gifted pen had prepared the patriotic message which was presented at the notable massmeeting held the previous week.

In pursuance of the plan above ratified, there was raised immediately what became known as Co. K, 10th Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. It was composed of seventy-three men with Lucius B. Walkley as captain and David M. Chase and Edwin T. Johnson as lieutenants.

At a town meeting held July 19, 1862, it was voted to raise seventy-five men "and more if necessary," to fill the quota assigned to the town by the governor in response to the president's call for nine hundred thousand additional volunteers, and $7,500 was appropriated to be used in paying to each of the seventy-five volunteers a bounty of $100.

The following resolutions were also adopted: "1. That we congratulate the Town of Westfield that through the munificence and patriotic efforts of her citizens she has been able to enroll herself as foremost among the Towns of our noble State in her prompt response to the call of the Governor by encamping at Worcester her full quota of men at an earlier hour as we believe than any other Town within the limits of the Commonwealth. 2. That those noble hearted men who have responded thus promptly to the call of the Country in this hour of her great need by placing their lives at her disposal to be offered as a sacrifice if need be upon the holy altar of civil freedom deserve our highest praise, and we hereby tender them our sincerest thanks for the honour they have thus conferred upon our Town. 3. That the volunteers who have heretofore gone out from us and who have stood so undaunted in the shock of battle 'bravest among the brave' so as to receive as they so richly deserved the special thanks of their Commanding officers, commend themselves to our affection and admiration for the exhibition in so remarkable a degree of those noble qualities which go to make up the true soldier, and while we deeply condole with the friends of the fallen, we send greetings to their living comrades in arms: Well done, brave men, your fellow townsmen are proud of your fame and grateful for your sacrifices."

A copy of those resolutions was ordered sent to Lieutenant Chauncey to be read to the volunteers in camp at Worcester, another to Captain Moon, Co. F, 27th Regiment, a third to Lieut. E. Johnson, Co. K, 10th Regiment.

In August following it was voted to raise the town's quota

under the president's call for 300,000 militia to serve for nine months, and to raise $10,000 to be expended in bounties, $100 to each recruit.

At the March meeting, 1862, it was voted that the selectmen be instructed to organize a fire department and appoint fire engineers; the chief was to receive $10 a year, the assistant engineers, the foremen of each fire company and the clerks of each company were to receive $5 a year, the other members of the companies $2 a year, and seventy-five men were to be employed to work and man the Rough and Ready engine.

At the April meeting following, three truant officers were chosen to co-operate with the school committee in enforcing attendance at school upon all children between the ages of five and sixteen years. Persistent truants were to be committed to the town farm for a term not exceeding one year, and a suitable instructor was to be provided there for the punishment, instruction and reformation of such offenders, or they should pay a fine of $20.

In August a further amount of $7,000 for bounties was raised, and it was "Resolved, That in view of the present exigencies of the times, His Excellency Governor Andrew be respectfully requested either by executive recommendation or if need be by invoking Legislative action, to adopt immediate measures in order to effect such organization, discipline and drill of the entire militia of the commonwealth as shall prepare them for prompt and efficient Military service for the defence of our common country and for the maintenance of our liberties."

Nov. 8, 1862, the sum of $6,000 was voted for the aid of families of volunteers, and $500 for the families of those who had died in the service, $1 per week respectively for each widow and dependent child, with $12 per month as a limitation for dependents of any single soldier.

Bush Street was accepted as a town way at the April meeting, 1863.

At the adjourned March meeting it was voted "that the town purchase and take the schoolhouses and other property of the several districts according to the appraisal of the assessors." The total appraisal for the houses and lands was $11,995.

May 16, "voted to buy for a schoolhouse land on Bartlett Street owned by Thomas Hough and Cornelius Bartlett." The proposal to procure the use of Westfield academy property for high school purposes was referred back to the committee of seven appointed at the April meeting, L. F. Thayer, H. B. Lewis, Henry Fuller, Joseph Arnold, L. F. Root, L. B. Blood, H. B. Smith.

April 4, 1864, the school committee was authorized to have entire charge of all school property in town and to appoint suitable persons in each district to take charge of the houses and property.

April 4, 1864, voted $8,000 for families of volunteers and $3,000 to reimburse those who contributed money to aid enlistments.

The March meeting, 1865, appropriated $12,000 for families of soldiers.

April meeting, 1865. Voted that "the town is ready to co-operate liberally with the trustees of the academy for the establishment of an advanced school in some manner under their joint auspices which meets the requirements of the law in relation to high schools and the just expectations of this Committee."

May, 1865, voted $20,000 to refund any sums contributed by the town or individuals for raising the requisite quota of troops. Voted that the selectmen be instructed to look up the right of the town to sell the town pound lot near the house of George Taylor, which was the site of the first meeting house.

Sept. 16, $15,000 voted to reimburse individuals for money advanced in aid of furnishing men.

In November, 1861, a letter from Captain Walkley was published giving a sketch of the experiences of the 10th Regiment from the time of its leaving Springfield. July 15, camp was pitched in Medford after having lived in barracks at Springfield. Ten days later, after having been addressed by Governor Briggs, the Father of its colonel, the regiment sailed out of Boston harbor for the front. Four days later the Potomac was entered, and on July 29 camp was established on Kalorama heights, two or three miles from Washington. A week later a change was made to Brightwood, five miles

from the city, where the regiment proceeded to erect Forts Massachusetts and Slocum. On Nov. 1 the roster of Co. K contained 99 names, two short of a full complement.

The people at home were mindful of the privations of the boys at the front. Early in December, the Soldiers Aid Society of the Methodist church sent to the company twenty-seven coverlets and comfortables, with more in preparation. Friends in Tolland sent 300 pounds of provisions to Captain Thayer's company in the 27th regiment at Annapolis.

A letter from "Alpha" in the News Letter on Jan. 24, 1862, speaks of Mrs. Walkley as being with her highly honored and respected husband at Camp Brightwood. She spent much time and effort in making pies and doughnuts for the boys.

Captain Thayer paid all the expense of enlisting his company and took it into camp at Springfield 104 strong. After spending a month there the 27th regiment went in November to a camp at Annapolis, Md., near the Naval Academy, and the latter part of November went to the front.

Captain Thayer, having been detailed on court martial, was able to be sent home by Colonel Lee to visit his wife, who was critically ill with typhoid fever.

In January, 1863, he went again to New York to take a transport to rejoin his regiment at Newberne, N. C. But he had a hemorrhage there and was examined by Dr. Willard Parker, the eminent physician who had been previously in Westfield in consultation with Dr. Shurtleff of that town in the case of Captain Thayer's Father. Dr. Parker, having examined him, sent him home, and after his discharge he devoted his energies as a selectman to promote recruiting to fill the successive quotas of the town.

The same correspondent "Alpha" tells of the expenditure of $3,000 by the privates of the 10th regiment in making winter quarters, buildings each 100 feet long and storm proof, the most comfortable by far of any in the vicinity of Washington.

The company of Capt. L. F. Thayer in the 27th regiment was raised by his personal exertions at the solicitation of Colonel Lee of Springfield after the battle of Bull Run. Mr. Thayer having obtained the consent of his Mother and his

young wife, who was a daughter of Hiram Harrison, devoted himself energetically to the task of recruiting a company. For ten days he did not have his clothes off. An account of his experiences from his own lips is very interesting. He secured volunteers from Westfield and surrounding towns. The Granville list comprised twenty-six men, but they all hung on one man who had enlisted already in a Connecticut regiment, making it essentially important to secure his release from that engagement. He had been promised State aid, but did not realize that in order to secure it he would have to move his family across the border, which he was averse to doing.

Mr. Thayer, having remembered that Samuel Fowler of Westfield was a classmate at Yale of Governor Buckingham, drove to the former's house, arriving at midnight, and induced him to drive with him to Hartford, thirty miles distant. They changed horses at Windsor Locks and reached Hartford early in the morning before "the great war Governor" had reached it from his home in Norwich. Upon his arrival he considered the plea of Mr. Thayer, and released the man. The two messengers returned to Westfield on that day, and the next morning Mr. Thayer drove again to Granville and secured the twenty-six men. He was commissioned as captain with permission to name his subalterns, and chose as first lieutenant, John W. Moore of Tolland, who was studying law in the office of Gillett & Stevens, and as second lieutenant, James Fowler 2d, son of Charles Fowler, who lived in the house on the north side of Main Street which for many years has been the residence of the family of the late Thomas A. Lewis. Pliny Wood, an old Mexican war veteran, was made orderly sergeant.

Several items relating to business activities in town in June, 1862, appear in the News Letter:

"H. B. Smith and Co. employ nineteen hands in their foundry, planing mill and lumber yard.

"Jessup & Laflin employ forty hands in manufacturing four tons per week of first class ledger paper." Their mill was at Springdale on Union Street.

"Samuel Horton employs seven hands making three tons per week of high grade manilla paper." His mill was where

the upper mill of the Crane Brothers has stood for many years.

"M. W. Perkins is making one hundred kegs of powder per week in the mill formerly owned by the late Charles Tryon, north of the village.

"Rockwell & Moseley are also busy making powder." This was for many years a flourishing industry of the town. The product was peddled about the country in huge wagons drawn by four horse teams. Large quantities of whips were also carried to distant markets in the same way.

In November, 1863, Lieut. John W. Moore of Tolland was presented with a sword by his fellow townsmen. Several barrels of home food were collected by Westfield people for Captain Thayer's company to enjoy at a Thanksgiving feast in camp at Annapolis. A good dinner and a box of clothing were also sent to Captain Walkley's company at Camp Brightwood, near Washington, for which a formal vote of thanks was sent back to the patriotic donors.

The Fourth of July, 1862, was celebrated here and in other towns of the neighborhood with great enthusiasm, as was natural and proper in a time of war. In Westfield it took the form of a strawberry festival in Whitman hall, later known for many years as the Opera House, on the corner of Elm and Church Streets. It was held in behalf of a fund for sick and wounded soldiers, for which contributions were solicited and most generously made. The ladies under whose supervision it was arranged and conducted had reason to be gratified by an attendance of about 700 persons, the tickets of admission having been priced at 15 cents apiece, and by net receipts of $204.73.

In Blandford was held a "Young Folks Union Sabbath School Celebration," two schools from the Centre and one each from North Blandford and West Granville having participated. A procession marched with martial music to the old church on the hill-crest where were given addresses respectively by the president of the day, H. D. Tinker, Rev. Mr. Clark of North Blandford, and C. J. Hinsdale of the Centre, with singing by the choir led by W. A. Waterman. Following these exercises the procession formed again and marched across to the grove, where more speeches were made and refresh-

ments were served with that toothsomeness and abundance which during later years have attracted crowds from the lowlands to the annual Blandford fair and cattle show.

In East Granville a picnic was held in front of the residence of Mr. Sparrow Crosby. A table was spread loaded with food and flowers. Remarks were made by Rev. G. D. Felton, William Wells, Esq., Mr. Simon Hascall and the President of the Day, Mr. Ansel Clark.

A picnic was held also at Tolland, a long table having been spread under a bower of green in front of the church. Led by Hiram C. Brown, Esq., marshal of the day, a procession with martial music marched to the church, where the Declaration of Independence was read, an address was delivered by Dr. De Wolf of Chester, and several selections were rendered by the choir.

On the first day of that month the 10th regiment was engaged near Richmond. The one man killed in Co. K was James B. Lay of this town, for whom the local camp of the Sons of Veterans was subsequently named. The wounded in the company were Corporal J. A. Tinkham, Privates, Willis W. Clark, Isaiah Crosby, Anson J. Collier, L. Day, H. Gorham, Joseph Geddes, Thomas Jarrold, Albert Newhouse, James M. Noble, George M. Thomson. Missing, Thomas Gaynor.

Lieut. H. A. Keith, acting adjutant of the regiment, said in a letter reporting the engagement: "We cleaned out in the early part of the action three regiments of the rebels, totally annihilating them. They made three attempts to rally, but failed in each. We next routed a brigade at long range, say some 600 yards, cutting them to pieces with our rifles. Our fire throughout was terribly effective, and General Palmer now calls us his sharpshooters."

James B. Lay, son of Ralph Lay, Esq., joined Co. K under Captain Walkley at Camp Brightwood near Washington, early in 1862. His brother in the same company gives the following sketch of the tragic incident: "Company K was deployed as skirmishers in front of the 10th regiment, then the 1st regiment of Berdan's sharpshooters took the front. In about an hour they opened fire upon the enemy and kept their position nearly half an hour, when they fell back. The first volley that was fired was from the rebels. We fired a

few scattering shots, when the order was given to fall back to the other side of the hill. It was in obeying that order that James was shot. He turned partly round and stepped off three or four paces, when a second shot passed through his shoulder blade and lungs and out at the breast in his right side. He was carried to the hospital where his wounds were dressed. He lived about an hour and three quarters after he was shot. He did not suffer any pain, being senseless from the time he was shot the second time until he died. Willis Clark was with him till the last. God bless him for his kindness."

Thus passed gloriously one of the first Westfield martyrs to the national cause. The superb example of patriotic devotion thus afforded by a young man well known in the community fired the hearts of the citizens at home as they assembled at a notable massmeeting in the Park on the evening of Thursday, July 10, to the number of 2,000. The call thereto was issued on the previous day. After "soul stirring music" by Morse's cornet band, the meeting was called to order and addressed by Thomas Kneil, Esq. He then introduced to the audience the president of the occasion, Hon. James Fowler, who emphasized the importance of doing one's whole duty in the existing national crisis and presented the following Resolutions:

"1st. Resolved, that our country has a just claim upon the services, the property, and if need be, *the life* itself of the citizens, which no true Patriot, with a just sense of his responsibilities will seek, either to resist or evade.

"2d. Resolved that the citizens of Westfield will cheerfully respond to any call for assistance which the constituted authorities of the land, may deem necessary for self preservation and efficient action.

"3d. Resolved, that in the present emergency all public burdens should be equally borne; and to this end those who are not in a condition to offer their personal services should cheerfully contribute of their substance, to equalize the necessary burden.

"4th. Resolved, that we deprecate the utterance, now become too common in the public journals, and among too many of our citizens, of censorious criticisms in regard to

our public officers, whether in the field or in the cabinet, as tending to dishearten our friends and encourage our foes, so long as we have a President at the head of the government in whose integrity and discretion we all have the fullest confidence, and must necessarily be the best judge of the qualifications and actions of his own officers.

"5th. Resolved, that while this is no time to croak and grumble; it *is* a time to *rally* in such countless numbers as to convince the world that the sentiment of America's old hero, 'The Union: it *must* and *shall* be preserved,' is still the sentiment and purpose of undaunted millions.

"6th. Resolved, that a prompt response to the President's call will inspire our brothers in the field with renewed courage, assure the government that the people are to be relied upon in this emergency, and carry consternation to the hearts of our enemies."

After these resolutions had been adopted unanimously several speakers pressed earnest appeals, Rev. Mr. Bowler, Rev. J. S. Bingham, Hon. M. B. Whitney, Hon. W. G. Bates, Henry Fuller, Esq., Reuben Noble, Esq. Fifteen gentlemen present pledged $100 apiece, such an amount to be given to each man who should enlist, and ten recruits were secured on the spot. Two days later seventy of the citizens pledged themselves for the balance of the amount of $7,500, enlisting proceeded briskly, and another massmeeting was held in the Park. Addresses were made by Hiram Harrison, Esq., Mr. Woodruff, who had recently spent considerable time in Missouri, J. M. Ely, Esq., and Hon. E. B. Gillett.

A third massmeeting was held in the Park on Saturday evening, and three days later Westfield's whole complement of volunteers, seventy-five men, had been secured, and they had begun drilling under Mr. C. R. Chauncey. Besides the resolutions presented by Hon. James Fowler at the Thursday evening meeting, others, presented by Hon. William G. Bates and also unanimously adopted, were as follows:

"Resolved by the citizens of Westfield in public meeting assembled, That the object of the present war is the restoration of the Union as it was, the Constitution as it is, and the re-establishment and re-enforcement of the laws in all the States in this great country;

"That the emergency has arrived where if we would avoid the burdens and the blood of a prolonged domestic war, and perhaps the conflict resulting from foreign intervention, we must at once put forth a sudden and energetic effort to put down and crush out every vestige of rebellion in every portion of our country;

"That we cordially approve of the recommendation, signed by nearly all the Governors of the loyal states, and the responsive call of the President of the United States for 300,000 fresh troops, and the town of Westfield will send forward her quota with no niggardly spirit and with no compromising patriotism;

"That we have full confidence in the honesty and patriotism of Abraham Lincoln, and we believe that he is laboring with an unswerving purpose to re-establish the supremacy of law, and to bring back the whole country under the dominion of those institutions which have made that country the home of our pride and the hope of freedom throughout the world;

"That it is the duty of every patriotic citizen at such a time as this to abjure all party ties and all political affiliations: and forgetting the things which are behind and pressing forward to the things which are before, to use our utmost efforts to strengthen the hands of those who have been constitutionally set over '*the powers that be*';

"That we hold in utter detestation those members of Congress who, without military knowledge, or even an ordinary civic renown, have denounced the President, the Commander-in-Chief, and the officers of the army: who have excited distrust among the people, who have paralyzed the arm of the government, and who for private purposes and party ends are endeavoring to protract this ruinous war, and that we call upon the Senate and House to purge themselves of such covert traitors."

There is no uncertain sound in these two sets of resolutions, offered by eminent private citizens and unanimously ratified by their fellow townsmen. They ring true to the noblest ideals of patriotism and are buttressed by devoted service of property and person. At that critical period of the national life, at the beginning of the second quarter of the second year of internecine conflict, as at its outset, Westfield took such a lofty

and advanced position on great national issues as she had taken in the no less critical period of the Revolution, when eminent citizens were successively appointed on the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, and when an immense percentage of her population was actively engaged at the front during the years of struggle for national existence. The men chosen to important committees to make effective the town's earnest endeavors to maintain the Union and restore its integrity were by no means confined to members of the party in power. Among the most energetic and loyal promoters of enlistment and supporters of all enterprises for sustaining the Union were three democrats, aptly characterized during that critical period, as "war democrats," Reuben Noble, Henry Fuller and J. M. Ely, together with one who continued to consider himself a whig, William G. Bates.

That there were some "copperheads" in town must be confessed with chagrin, but they were only a small minority of their party. It is related of one of them, a somewhat prominent citizen, that he hounded out of the Methodist pulpit a sturdy advocate of loyalty and emancipation, who was succeeded in office by a pious but negative incumbent. After the citizen aforesaid had been sickened by his platitudes for sometime, the former pastor returned to preach for a Sunday. After having heard him with great satisfaction, his former enemy, who had once declared that "a nigger had no more soul than a mule," exclaimed, "Let him come back and preach nigger every Sunday if he wants to!"

The 46th regiment as finally organized had among its officers the following men who afterward became eminent in various capacities in the Connecticut River Valley: Colonel, Rev. George Bowler, who resigned his pastorate in the Methodist church to accept the position. He had been enthusiastic in the work of recruiting the regiment, and later became the second pastor of the Second Congregational church. Lieutenant Colonel, William S. Shurtleff of Springfield, afterward for many years judge of the probate court of Hampden county. Major, L. B. Walkley of Westfield, who later rose to be lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. Surgeon, James H. Waterman of Westfield, who after a brief period of service resumed his home practice and was honored in his profession for the

remainder of his life. Captains, Co. A, Samuel B. Spooner of Springfield, well known in later years as register of the probate court; Co. C, Andrew Campbell of Westfield, long a respected citizen of the town; Co. F, Russell H. Conwell of Worthington, still eminent and influential as a clergyman, educator and lecturer; Co. K, John Avery of Westfield.

The 46th infantry reached Newberne, N. C., Nov. 15, 1862, and was attached to the brigade of Col. Horace E. Lee, which consisted wholly of Massachusetts regiments. In connection with the Goldsboro expedition it took part in the battles of Keniston, Whitehall and Goldsboro, losing one man killed and four wounded. Colonel Bowler having been incapacitated by illness from taking command during the expedition stopped at Keniston, resigned his command and returned home. In April, 1863, he became pastor of the Second Congregational church. Major Walkley was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy.

The following Westfield men were officers in various commands: Joseph T. Spear, 2d lieutenant, 42d Infantry; Morton W. Fowler, 2d lieutenant, Third Heavy Artillery; Charles E. Munn, surgeon, Second Infantry; Samuel R. Bingham, 1st lieutenant, Second Heavy Artillery; James Holland, surgeon, First Cavalry; Curtis E. Munn, hospital steward, First Cavalry; Duett C. Clark, 2d lieutenant, Third Cavalry; Charles H. Morrill, 1st lieutenant, 34th Infantry; Jere Horton, 2d lieutenant, 34th Infantry; Daniel C. Wishart, 2d lieutenant, 34th Infantry; Andrew L. Bush, 1st lieutenant, 37th Infantry. He was severely wounded at the battle of Gettysburg in 1863, and as a result discharged in 1864.

The Soldiers Aid Society was reorganized at the annual meeting held at the parlor of the First church, Nov. 19, 1862. The officers elected were, respectively, president and secretary, Mrs. James Fowler; treasurer, Miss Josephine Strong; executive committee, Mrs. Henry Avery, Mrs. Dr. Andrews, Mrs. Henry Bush, Mrs. F. A. Grover, Mrs. Isaac Knapp, Mrs. Lyman Lewis, Mrs. Wesley Lewis, Mrs. Dr. Miller, Mrs. L. R. Norton, Miss Susie Merrill, Miss Ellen Dow, Miss Charlotte Curtis. The work done for the comfort of the soldiers on the field by the devoted and diligent women of Westfield was very extensive and of inestimable value.

Every issue of the local paper published letters from men in the various regiments containing Westfield contingents, letters which were eagerly read by the people at home, who were intensely interested in the welfare and experiences of the boys in blue. The personal touch gave those messages a value and significance far beyond those of official reports.

In May, 1863, Lieut. James Fowler returned to Westfield on a furlough of twenty days, bringing the torn and stained flag of the 27th Regiment to be presented to Governor Andrew in exchange for a new one. The battles in which it had inspired to valor the men of the regiment were inscribed upon it as follows: "Roanoke, Feb. 8, 1862; Newberne, Mar. 14, 1862; Whitehall, Dec. 16, 1862; Goldsboro, Dec. 17, 1862; Washington, April, 1863."

In the battle of Fredericksburg, in June, 1863, the 10th Massachusetts was said by a correspondent of the Springfield Republican to have saved the day, having repulsed the rebels after two brigades had been driven back; cheering news for the people at home.

In a list of the high school pupils perfect in both deportment and recitations during a week of May, 1863, appear the names of six girls and *one* boy, Fred Gillett, a worthy achievement for the future congressman and speaker of the House. During the following week one of two boys who equaled that record was his cousin, James Fowler.

The draft of July, 1863, involved some prominent citizens of Westfield: Rev. M. X. Carroll of the Roman Catholic church, J. B. Holland, principal of the academy, James C. Greenough, a teacher in the normal school, William H. Foote, a merchant and express agent, Hon. M. B. Whitney, State Senator, Dr. E. M. Goodrich, dentist, son-in-law of H. B. Smith, Samuel E. Chadwick of the firm of Gillett & Chadwick, merchants, F. E. Merriam, Esq., of the News Letter office, son-in-law of Hon. William O. Fletcher, and George H. Mallory, police officer. The draft is no more a respecter of persons than the weather. The whole list comprised 145 names, of whom 101 were afterward exempted on various grounds. The lists in neighboring towns included numbers as follows: "Granville 36, Blandford 32, Southwick 34, Tolland 14, Montgomery 12, Russell 19, Chester 35."

The famous war Governor Andrew visited Westfield in July, 1863, for the purpose of attending the examinations of the State normal school. He addressed from his carriage companies C and K of the 46th Massachusetts Regiment, drawn up in the Park preparatory to their departure to Springfield.

The respective quotas for the towns of western Hampden under the call for 300,000 additional troops in the autumn of 1863 were as follows:

Holyoke 69, West Springfield 32, Agawam 20, Southwick 17, Granville 18, Tolland 7, Westfield 72, Blandford 16, Montgomery 6, Russell 9, Chester 17.

The Thanksgiving Proclamation of November, 1863, by the noble war Governor, is pitched on so high a key, is so instinct with devoted patriotism, is so broad and optimistic in its outlook over national affairs and prospects, as to be worthy of reproduction as a worthy sample and memorial of the appeals to which the people of Westfield responded in that crucial period of the nation's life. It is a historical document as worthy of perusal at any subsequent period as it was when issued.

"Proclamation for a Day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise. By the advice and consent of the Council, I do hereby appoint Thursday, the 26th day of November next, to be observed by the people of Massachusetts as a day of public thanksgiving and praise. And respectfully but earnestly exhort all the people of this Commonwealth, whom this proclamation shall reach, wherever they may be, whether on sea or land, within our quiet borders, or abroad on distant fields of war, to consecrate that day, in the sight of Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, by heartfelt works of charity, by devout thanksgiving and by joyful praise. 'O, go your way into His gates with thanksgiving and into His courts with praise; be thankful unto Him, and speak good of His name, For the Lord is gracious, His mercy is everlasting.' For all the immeasurable mercies, for the infinitude of blessings by which the year has been crowned; for health and prosperous industry, for peaceful homes, for waving fields of grain, for harvests rich with all the food of man, for all the bounties of the sea, the wealth of mines, the skill and thrift of every handicraft; for the great agencies of nature herself, working as kindly

helpers to the hands of men, and for all the fruits of their gigantic toil; for intellectual activity and moral life; for every gift and fruit of reason, of conscience and religion, bless ye the Lord, and Him only: praise Him and magnify Him forever.

"Let us reverently contemplate the wonderful providence which has led and guided the hearts and minds of this people, and is shaping and working out the destiny of this nation. Even in the time of war we are rejoicing in the arts of peace. Subjected to its temptations and demoralizing influence, yet the virtues of forbearance, patience and charity are daily illustrating the social life of our people, no less conspicuously than their loyal patriotism. Side by side with the march of armies, and the destructive engines of war, move the messengers of love, with every solace for the body or the mind, to soften the soldier's lot, or alleviate the travail of mortality. Sometimes slowly and with hesitating tide, but always surely; sometimes with a receding eddy, but always on an undercurrent of majestic power, has been borne the symbol of our nationality. The moral sight has been quickened, duty has grown warmer in the heart, as the revelations of trial and the discipline of a great suffering have done their appointed work.

"Blending the temper of forgiveness with an unflinching integrity of purpose; weeping with the bereaved who mourn the beauty of our Israel slain upon our high places; but catching the sublime spirit of those who have sealed their testimony with their blood, may we fail not to implore on this, our annual festival, strength from above to exercise ourselves also in every heroic virtue for the vindication of right and the overthrow of wrong.

"Let us trust that Peace will soon return to our borders, and a union of hearts and hands revive on the ruins of that injustice and inhumanity which bred our sorrows; when all the inhabitants of the land will unite to sing—'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel: for He hath visited and redeemed His people.'

"Given at the Council Chamber in Boston, this first day of October, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and the eighty-eighth of the Independence of the United States of America. John A. Andrew.

"By His Excellency the Governor, with the advice of the Council. Oliver Warner, Secretary.
"*God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*"

In September, 1865, the town voted to pay back all moneys contributed by individuals to aid in filling the town's quota during the preceding year.

At the March meeting, 1866, a series of very important resolutions was moved by Reuben Noble, a high-minded citizen, a leading and influential democrat in State and nation, a man who all through the period of the war proved the purity and intensity of his patriotism.

"No. 1. Resolved, That the citizens of Westfield here assembled, loyal to the Constitution and the Union, and faithful to the principles which have carried the country triumphantly through the war, are convinced of the necessity of an early and complete pacification of the country that the people may all engage in their proper pursuits and reap the just rewards of their labors.

"No. 2. Resolved, That therefore we desire to see the restoration of practical constitutional relations between all the states and the Federal Government at the earliest practicable period, and to that end we favor the admission into Congress of all Loyal Representatives of the States lately in rebellion who were fairly elected and can take the oath prescribed by the Constitution.

"No. 3. Resolved. That we approve the general principles announced by the President in his annual message explaining the reasons for withholding his assent to the bill for the continuance and enlargement of the Freedman's Bureau; and while we express this approval we give him our confidence and promise him our continued support in all proper measures for the restoration of constitutional government in all parts of the country.

"No. 4. Resolved, That we approve of the action of all senators and representatives in sustaining the President.

"No. 5. Resolved, That the Constitution is at once our Charter and defense, no magistrate can go beyond, no department of the Government, however powerful, legislative or executive, is permitted to transcend it; and however benevo-

lent or otherwise meritorious a measure may be, if it be not within the powers granted by the Constitution, it cannot be adopted, and we insist that every one of our public servants shall conform to the will of the whole people as manifested in the great organic act which is antecedent and superior to the Government itself."

The vote upon that noble document was taken seriatim. There were three votes against the second resolution, there was one vote against the fifth, and the others were unanimously approved, a result which is very remarkable considering the confusion and perplexities of the early period of reconstruction. President Johnson had recently vetoed a bill granting enlarged powers to the Freedman's Bureau. An attempt to override his veto failed to secure the requisite majority. The Westfield resolutions were to be signed by the town clerk and copies sent respectively to the President of the United States and each senator and representative of Massachusetts in Congress.

The monument erected as a memorial of the heroic services of the soldiers and sailors of the nation during the terrible conflict of the Civil War was unveiled on May 26, 1871. The granite pedestal surmounted by a soldier in bronze stands at the foot of Court Street just southwest of the Green. The four faces of the pedestal are marked as follows: three of them by bronze plates, respectively, on the north the national coat of arms; on the west a roll of honor, containing sixty-six names. On the east side the following inscription is cut: "Westfield honors the memory of her sons who have fallen in defence of Liberty, Union and Independence, 1861 to 1865. Erected 1871."

Exercises marking the event began with a procession led by Colt's band, after which a luncheon was served by ladies to more than 800 persons in a tent south of the Green. At 2 P.M. there was an immense gathering about the monument. Hon. E. B. Gillett, president of the day, said in part, "It is good to be here. Westfield sent out 500 soldiers and 25 commissioned officers. The soldiers of our town were represented in almost every battle in the War of the Rebellion. * * * We are here to-day to dedicate a monument to our departed soldiers. Three weeks ago the statue erected in Paris by the

great Napoleon was leveled with the ground. It represented Imperialism and Deception. Our monument represents a common soldier on guard. May it ever stand to guard our homes.'

Other exercises followed; unveiling by Col. L. B. Walkley, marshal of the day; prayer, and reading of a poem written for the occasion by a lady, by Rev. Henry Hopkins; address by General Kilpatrick; short addresses by Lieutenant Governor Tucker, General Briggs and Colonel Parsons. The Second Massachusetts Regiment which had been an important feature of the morning procession, concluded the exercises by a battalion drill and dress parade. By order of the selectmen, the saloons were all closed and good order prevailed throughout the day.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Bi-Centennial Celebration

That significant epoch in the town's history was formally observed in 1869. From the published volume of its proceedings the following account is taken:

For several years prior to the year 1869, the attention of many of the citizens of Westfield had been called to the subject of celebrating the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town; and there was a general wish, on the part of the people, to engage in it. It was at times mentioned in the newspapers, and the idea was thus communicated to many of the natives of the town who had removed to foreign and distant abodes. Many of them seemed to manifest an interest in the proposed celebration and promised to give their attendance upon the occasion. Both these persons and the present residents anticipated much pleasure in a proposed family gathering, which should bring face to face those who had been long separated, and indeed those who were wholly strangers to each other.

At last, in the month of June, 1869, at the request of several of our citizens, an article was inserted in a warrant for a town meeting, to be held on the third day of July then next, to see what measures the town would adopt for celebrating the 200th anniversary of its incorporation. The meeting was held accordingly. It was a large and intelligent one. The subject was discussed in a free and earnest manner, and there was, we believe, an unanimous feeling in favor of the proposed celebration. There was, of course, a difference of opinion expressed as to the manner of conducting it, but upon a full interchange of opinion the following record expresses the result which was aimed at with an entire unanimity:

At a meeting of the inhabitants, legal voters of the town of Westfield, holden July 3, 1869, Jehiel Abbott, moderator, it was—

Voted, that the town celebrate the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town.

Voted, that a committee of twenty be appointed by the chair, to report to the town, at an adjourned meeting, some plan for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town, and report the names of any necessary committees.

The chair appointed the following named gentlemen to act as that committee in accordance with the preceding votes: Hon. William G. Bates, Col. David Moseley, Henry J. Bush, Silas Root, Lucius F. Thayer, Maj. George Taylor, Lyman Lewis, Samuel Fowler, Esq., George E. Knapp, John Fowler, Frederick Fowler, Joseph M. Ely, Hon. Thomas Kneil, David Drake, William Noble, John B. Bancroft, Dr. James Holland, Reuben Noble, Henry B. Lewis, Esq., Charles H. Bush.

At an adjourned meeting, holden July 17, 1869, it was voted, to accept and adopt the report of Hon. William G. Bates, chairman, which was as follows:

At a meeting of the committee appointed by the town, to consider and recommend to the town what measures shall be adopted for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Westfield, which meeting was held at the office of William G. Bates on the evening of the 9th and 10th of July instant, it was—

Voted, 1. That in the opinion of this committee, the interest and the honor of the town demand that the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town of Westfield should be celebrated and be observed as a holiday, by our present inhabitants, on Wednesday, the first day of October next; and that those citizens who have emigrated herefrom to other and distant states, and also their descendants and families,—indeed all who trace their life-blood from this then westernmost frontier post of civilization,—be invited to revisit the place of their ancestry and mingle with us here in a most interesting reunion.

Voted, 2. That a committee, consisting of the following persons, be appointed by the town, which committee shall have authority to fill vacancies, to appoint sub-committees in those of their own numbers, or of other persons, to arrange and superintend the order of the celebration, and to appoint some suitable person to prepare an historical address; to solicit, from the many very eminent citizens who have heretofore

gone out from us, personal reminiscences and communications, scatter abroad to them an invitation to our hospitalities, and provide the entertainment proper for the occasion.

Voted, 3. That, in addition to the contributions, which we are assured will be made by hospitable and zealous citizens of the town, towards the expenses of this interesting jubilee, we recommend that the inhabitants of the town, in their corporate capacity, in aid of individuals, authorize their selectmen to draw their orders for such sums as may be necessary for defraying the expenses of the same, not exceeding five thousand dollars.

For the committee. William G. Bates, Chairman.

Names of the committee appointed by the adoption of the foregoing report: William G. Bates, Maj. George Taylor, Col. Silas Root, Capt. Frederick Fowler, Col. David Moseley, Joseph M. Ely, Cutler Laflin, Reuben Noble, George E. Knapp, John B. Bancroft, Hon. Thomas Kneil, Dr. Jehiel Abbott, Dr. James Holland, Hon. Edward B. Gillett, Henry J. Bush, Henry Loomis, Horace Ensign, Henry Hubbard, Frederick Bush, Elihu Gaylord, Lucius F. Thayer, Henry B. Smith, Hiram Fowler, James C. Greenough, Elijah Owen, Jr., John Gillett, Thomas Cowles, Samuel Horton, Samuel Fowler, Lewis R. Norton, Darwin L. Gillett, Hon. Henry Fuller, George Green, L. B. Blood, Joseph Woolworth.

Voted, that the inhabitants of the towns of Southwick, Russell, and Montgomery, which formerly constituted portions of the town of Westfield, be cordially invited to unite with us in making that day memorable, which is endeared to the citizens of all those towns by so many soul-thrilling associations.

Voted, that the moderator nominate three persons from the committee this day appointed, who shall be a finance committee, to audit and approve all bills, incurred in carrying out the proposed celebration, and that the selectmen draw their orders for no bills, unless approved by the finance committee, or a majority of the same.

Cutler Laflin, Col. David Moseley and Reuben Noble were chosen such finance committee.

Voted, that the town invite Hon. William G. Bates to deliver the address on the occasion of the celebration.

At an adjourned meeting of the town, holden August 28, 1869, it was

Voted, to amend the vote whereby the town voted to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town, on Wednesday, the first day of October next, so that the time shall be fixed to Wednesday, the sixth day of October next.

Voted, to excuse Hon. Henry Fuller from serving on the committee on the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the incorporation of the town.

William H. Foote, Town Clerk.

A true copy of record—Attest,

William H. Foote, Town Clerk.

After the adjournment of the town meeting, the committee held a session and appointed the following sub-committees to arrange and carry out the parts of the general programme. The committees were thus constituted:

Committee on Tent and Entertainment: Frederick Bush, L. F. Thayer, L. R. Norton, Henry J. Bush, Samuel Horton.

Committee on Music: George Green, H. B. Stevens, J. R. Gladwin, H. M. Miller, J. G. Scott, E. B. Smith.

Committee on Printing: Cutler Laflin, D. L. Gillett, J. C. Greenough.

Committee on Invitations: William G. Bates, David Moseley, James Holland, Joseph M. Ely, Samuel Fowler, E. B. Gillett, G. L. Laflin.

Executive Committee: Thomas Kneil, H. B. Smith, Samuel Fowler, C. K. Sanborn.

Committee on Reception of Guests: N. T. Leonard, H. Hooker, C. A. Jessup, L. B. Blood, D. L. Gillett, George L. Laflin, J. M. Moseley, M. Loomis, David Lamberton.

Committee on Decoration: L. F. Thayer, John M. Moseley, Andrew Campbell, 2d, W. H. Foote, W. A. Johnson, A. C. Rand, Henry Pease, Charles F. Fowler, G. Knapp, E. B. Smith, C. I. Snow, L. H. Beals, Arthur Crane, W. H. Atkins, Albert N. Brass, E. W. Dickerman, Emerson Jessup.

Committee to Arrange the Order of Procession and Exercises in the Church: Cutler Laflin, Thomas Kneil, Frederick Bush.

Committee on Sentiments: William G. Bates, E. B. Gillett, Thomas Kneil, M. B. Whitney, J. W. Dickinson.

Committee on Finance: Cutler Laflin, Reuben Noble, David Moseley.

The following gentlemen were appointed officers of the day:

President: Hon. James Fowler; vice-presidents: Maj. George Taylor, J. M. Ely, Silas Root, Thomas Ashley, N. T. Leonard, Oliver Moseley, Franklin Arthur, Ambrose Day, Elihu Gaylord, Samuel Drake, Seth Cowles, Dr. Jehiel Abbott, Dennis Hedges, Hon. E. B. Gillett, Hon. Thos. Kneil, Hon. M. B. Whitney, Hiram Fox, Hon. David Moseley, Henry B. Smith, Col. Orrin Parks, Dr. J. W. Rockwell of Southwick, Reuben Noble, James Noble, 1st, A. B. Whitman, F. Fowler, Alonzo Allen, Elijah Ensign, Hiram Owen, Roland Parks of Russell, Octalony Moore of Montgomery; Marshal: Major Frederick Bush; Assistant Marshals: Samuel Dow, Andrew Campbell, 1st, A. F. Powers, L. B. Walkley, J. M. Moseley, F. D. Bush; Toastmaster: Hon. Thomas Kneil.

The committee upon invitations issued a circular invitation, which was also printed in the Western Hampden Times and the News Letter, the two village papers published in Westfield, which notices were sent by mail to every known family who had formerly lived in Westfield.

Editorial notices of the meeting appeared in each number of the papers, inviting a general attendance, and also requesting information of the names and residences of former inhabitants.

The committee arranged the following programme for the exercises of the occasion, which was published and widely circulated by bills, and in the newspapers:

1. Forty guns will be fired, and the bells of the several churches rung at sunrise.

The procession will form in front of the Woronoco House at 9½ o'clock, A.M., and march up Elm to Franklin street, thence to Washington, thence to Court, through Court to the church, in the following order: Platoon of police. Cavalcade. Gilmore's band. Returned veteran corps. Firemen. Town authorities. Teachers of normal and public schools. Committee of arrangements. Reverend clergy. President and orator of the day. Invited guests. Citizens of other towns. Citizens of the town.

Maj. F. Bush was Marshal, and Col. L. B. Walkley, S. Dow,

A. Campbell, 1st, A. F. Powers, J. M. Moseley, F. D. Bush, aids to the Marshal. At the church the order of exercises was as follows: Voluntary on the Organ. Voluntary by the Choir. Address by the President, Hon. James Fowler. Invocation by Rev. H. Hopkins. Reading the Holy Scriptures by Rev. J. H. Mansfield. Original Hymn by the Choir. Address of Welcome by Hon. E. B. Gillett. Reply by J. B. Eldredge, Esq., of Hartford. Reading of Original Poetry. Singing by the Choir, "Two Hundred Years Ago." Oration by Hon. William G. Bates. Music by the Band. Prayer by Rev. E. H. Richardson. Doxology. Benediction.

On the Saturday preceding the memorable day a storm of rain commenced and continued through Sunday and Monday. The rivers rose to an unprecedented height. The levee on the south side of the Great river was overflowed and carried away by the current, and the water rushed through the streets and gardens in the meadows northerly of Franklin street, carrying off fences, property, and, in some cases, buildings, in its terrible inundations. Alarm bells were rung, and the people congregated to rescue property, secure buildings, and to save life. The railroads were partially submerged and portions of them were swept away. The transportation of freights and passengers was arrested, and many of those who had signified their intention to unite with us and who had traveled long distances for the purpose were compelled to stop in their journey hither; and,—finding that the means of conveyance were not seasonably opened,—to return, disappointed, to their homes.

In very many cases this was a severe disappointment. Persons from "down East," who had come as far as Boston, and from the West,—from western New York, from Ohio, from Illinois and the Mississippi,—were thus arrested in their course. Some of them returned at once to their homes; others procured other modes of conveyance, and by circuitous roads arrived during and after the exercises. Some set forth on foot, and with many a weary mile of travel reached town in season; many more waited for the cars, and came when the cars came, too late to join their friends in the celebration. Arrangements were made, however, for a reunion. On the evening of the 6th an invitation was extended for a meeting at the house of Mr. Bates; and, on the evening of the 7th, the large and elegant

house of Mr. Lucius F. Thayer was thrown open for all the inhabitants of the town whether of the present or the past.

An unfortunate incident also occurred, in defeating the arrangements, in part, for the comfort and pleasure of the guests. We had engaged Gilmore's Band of Boston to take part in the exercises; the members made an effort to reach their place of engagement, but they were compelled to return. A part of the entertainment for the guests at the table was also engaged to be forwarded from Boston and New Haven; but, from the same cause, we were disappointed in its reception.

It will readily be supposed, that though the rain, on the morning of the 6th, had abated, and the sun shone forth with new brilliancy, yet that doubt hung over our councils, in reference to the proceedings of the day. The committee were hastily convened for an ultimate decision; some few persons favored a postponement to the next, or a future day; but a little consideration determined the conclusion to go forward; and, although we could not do all that was desired for the pleasure of our friends, it was determined to do all that we could to make the occasion a pleasant one. Accordingly, at 10½ o'clock, an hour later than the announcement of the programme, the procession was formed, and marched to the First Congregational Church. The partitioning doors, which separated, ordinarily, the auditorium from the chapel, were raised, and the whole building was closely filled from front to rear with an appreciative audience.

The following extracts are taken from the editorial account of the celebration, published in the Western Hampden Times of Oct. 6, 1869, with a few verbal alterations, made by the consent of the author:

Cordial letters of invitation were sent to all emigrants from Westfield, known to the committee, and weeks ago the mustering of the clans commenced. So widely had time diffused the old stock, that representatives came from every part of the country; from western prairies, southern savannahs, and even the Pacific states.

Old men and women, long exiled, came to take the last look of the old place; many a young matron, who went away a bride, came proudly carrying her children with her; in many a household happy tears were shed as the "boys" came home,

whose feet had so long been strangers to the threshold; on the street were witnessed sudden greetings and hearty hand-shakings, and middle-aged men smoothed out their wrinkles and grew young again, as they laughed together over their boyish "scrapes," or recounted the flirtations of the old Academy days; some, alas, came back to green graves and desolate homes,—perhaps, to find the very homestead had vanished before the march of improvement; but here, as nowhere else, could they "walk in soul" with those gone before, and, although they could not but sigh over Time's mutations, grateful for the love still left them they grow happy in the joy of others. One and all seemed imbued with a desire to enjoy to the utmost, this, the only centennial anniversary which they would ever know.

Up to Saturday night last, all preparations for the jubilee went on sucessfully; during that night commenced the unprecedented storm that has desolated so large a portion of our beautiful town, leaving in place of faultless highways, well-kept gardens and trim lawns, gullied roads, broken walks, piled up masses of rubbish and pools of foul water. The preparations for the celebration were in too advanced a stage to admit of its postponement; therefore, while many of the minor details by which we had hoped to enliven the entertainment were necessarily omitted, the main programme was adhered to.

The morning was ushered in by a salvo of artillery and the merry clangor of bells,—an appropriate welcome to such a luscious, golden day, one of royal October's brightest gifts.

At eight o'clock the "Invincible Phalanx of Ancient and Honorables," headed by the last of the aborigines, made their merry march through the streets,—some of their costumes faithful copies of those of "ye olden time," others of a nondescript and ridiculous nature, which brought forth peals of laughter from the spectators; their big drum and ear-splitting fife furnished a fitting accompaniment to their laughable ride. At an early hour, the "green" presented an appearance of gayety quite unparalleled in Westfield annals. The big tent, with flying flags, shone conspicuous; members of the different committees were hurrying about, putting the finishing touches to their arrangements; crowds of people from the adjoining towns were gathered in bright groups upon the sidewalks, and a

continuous line of vehicles reached far along the principal streets; nature still wore her summer green, somewhat the worse for wear, it is true, but brightened here and there by a scarlet branch, as if to show her sympathy with our festivities.

The company of veterans, under the command of Captain Solomon, now appeared, their bayonets flashing in the sunlight, their tattered banners, every rent of which represented a struggle for freedom, carried as proudly as when, something more than an accessory to a gay pageant, they marched away with unflinching bravery, carrying our hopes and prayers with them. They took their place in the procession, which formed at half past ten, in the following order: Cavalcade. Returned veteran corps. Fire companies. Town authorities. Teachers of normal and public schools. Committee of arrangements. Reverend clergy. President and orator of the day. Members of the press. Invited guests. Citizens from other towns. Citizens of this town.

After marching through the principal streets, they proceeded to the church, which fair hands had decorated most beautifully, the altar looking like a great tropical flower just bursting into bloom; from the marble font rose a gorgeous pyramid of blossoms; festoons of evergreens draped altar and organ, hung about the Rev. Edward Taylor's memorial tablet, and framed in the portrait of our lamented Dr. Davis; the seasons were typified by bunches of corn and grain hanging on either side of the organ arch.

After a spirited voluntary upon the organ by Mr. Bartlett, and a voluntary sung by a choir of nearly fifty voices, the honorable and venerable James Fowler gave a brief address as President of the Day; reciting various interesting reminiscences reaching back to the year 1800, illustrating and contrasting our feeble beginning and our present success. Among other statistics he gave the following: In the year 1853 the transportation business to and from the railroad was performed by one man and a single horse and wagon, and now between twenty and thirty horses are required for the like business of the road. The first coal yard established in Westfield was by Mr. Gowdy in 1857; at that time so small was the consumption of coal that in consultation with some of the leading men, it was doubted if

he could make the business remunerative; now the consumption of coal is four thousand tons annually.

Rev. H. Hopkins followed with a few appropriate words of earnest prayer, the congregation joining in repeating the Lord's Prayer. Owing to the illness of Mr. Mansfield, the reading of the Scriptures devolved upon Rev. Perkins K. Clark of Mittineague, who is a native of Westfield. The following original hymn was then sung by the congregation:

"Two centuries shrivel like a scroll,"
  Touch'd by consuming fires;
And heart to heart, and soul to soul,
  Sons meet their buried sires.

To-day the reverent pilgrim hears
  Their sweetly chanted airs;
And, echoing through the vanished years,
  Come back their holy prayers.

The Triune God, their only King;
  Their law, His stern decree;
Nor angel on his swiftest wing
  Could more obedient be.

Grateful, on Pisgah's mount we stand,
  Proud of this natal day;
Behind, that grand triumphant band;
  Beyond, a sunlit way.

And, that an age may brighter shine,
  And truth our worship hold,
Grant us, oh God, that faith divine,
  Which made our fathers bold.

So the on-gath'ring age may come,
  At the next century's nod,
And, in this loved, enchanted home,
  Adore our fathers' God.

This hymn was the effusion of Mrs. Ellen Barr, a daughter of the Hon. Patrick Boise, late a distinguished lawyer of this town.

The next feature, in the order of exercises, was the address of welcome, by Hon. Edward B. Gillett. It was full of tender allusion, beautiful imagery and cordial greeting. We give the words substantially, but they afford a faint idea of that indescribable something (which is more effective than any mere trick of words, and which is indeed the heart beating through the words,) which characterized this speech.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Wherever out in the broad world the diverging paths of life may lead a man, or to whatever returnless distances its uncertain currents may bear him, or however long the years that intervene, if he has a heart in his bosom, there is always one dear and delightful image pictured upon it, shining bright and unfaded whenever the dusts of time are removed by the gentle hand of memory, or washed away by her tears; and that image is the picture of the home of his childhood. There, every spot is consecrated by some fond memory, by some youthful pastime, some first love, or some enduring friendship, or tender sorrow, or religious aspiration or reverential feeling; each bringing its tribute to reconstruct his early home; and to which, in all the sere and later years of life, the true heart never ceases to turn,

> As the sunflower turns on her god when he sets
> The same look which she turned when he rose.

The citizens of Westfield now resident here, some of them natives and "to the manor born," others persuaded to cast their lot here by the invitations of business or the attractions of a pleasant home, or drawn hither and held by gentler bonds, thoughtful of these sentiments, and mindful that this year of our Lord is the two hundredth birthday of our goodly town, —mindful, too, how this vine which our fathers planted has "sent forth its branches unto the river, and its boughs to the sea,"—believed that they should be recreant to every filial and fraternal sentiment if they did not on this natal day, call the wandering sons and daughters back again to the old homestead, that they and we might rescue one day from the homely tenor of common existence, and together around the ancient hearthstone fan the fading embers of old and pleasant memories, retrace the paths of earlier years, tell of all the pleasant

ways in which our Father has led us, and together beneath His smile set up three tabernacles,—to the Past, the Present, and the Future.

In pursuance of these considerations, our citizens in town-meeting assembled,—that same democratic assemblage in which 200 years ago the legal voters of the town, representing a half score of families, settled grave questions of policy and existence,—voted to set apart this day as a memorial occasion, and to issue friendly summons to all the absent children to be present and join with us in our festive joys and memorable honors. And now we are glad to greet so many. Most gladly would we have greeted more, but were the number far less, the occasion would not be without ample compensations. Scores of letters of response from all parts of the country, from the Atlantic shore to the Pacific sea, expressing the grief of those who could not be with us to-day, breathe such tender and hearty sympathy with the occasion, such pride that it is to be worthily signalized, such pleasure in not having been forgotten, and assurances of love, quickened and renewed, pledges of future solicitude in all that pertains to the interest of their old home, and regrets that they could not unite with us in laying the trophies they have won elsewhere, at the feet of their honored mother; and all so redolent of filial affection, that I am sure they will be sedulously preserved among the treasures of the town, even as an "alabaster box full of precious odors." To our absent friends, remembered and beloved, who are not "with us" but are yet "of us," we send cordial greeting.

To our honored guests,—Fathers and Mothers, and Brothers and Sisters: in the name and in behalf of my fellow-citizens, I offer you heartiest salutation; and welcome you to *our* home and *yours*. Even as though my hand thrilling with the warm pulses of all, was within your hand, I give you homefelt and heartfelt greeting. We are right glad to see you—glad to see so many familiar faces, as well as so many faces, familiar only as they repeat and perpetuate the features of kindred. We welcome you to all that is comprised in that best word of our language, *home*.

As you cast filial eyes over the old landscape, you will perceive that many places you once knew, you will know no

more. But many things the hand of man can never change. Mount Tekoa still stands sentinel over our quiet valley. Our town is still "beautiful for situation." The same environment of blue hills defines our horizon-line of unsurpassed beauty. Our valley still nestles in the valley scooped out for it by the hand of nature below the sheltering hills, and enfolded by the shining arms of two rivers as they bend for mutual embrace. We welcome you to our town, improving, as we believe, in thrift, wealth, enterprise, and in moral and intellectual culture. We point to our schools, doing honor even to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to our school-houses, those lighthouses of interior New England, blazing with more than Promethean fire; to our Athenæum, over whose portals is inscribed the name of one munificent donor, and upon whose interior walls is suspended the portrait of another loyal son of Westfield, and a generous benefactor; to our churches, which lift their graceful spires, as if to point the soul to heaven and draw blessings down; to our pulpits, echoing with the earnest and concordant voices of a ministry, in whose presence we exclaim from Sabbath to Sabbath, as you and we did in the days of their predecessors revered and beloved: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation."

We point to our farms and fields, to our places of mercantile, mechanical and manufacturing avocations, all demonstrating that wholesome and uniform prosperity which has never been retrograde, or stationary. I know that the old Hampshire and Hampden Canal, which forty years ago you dreamed would prove to be the enchanter's wand by which to transfigure our town into a city, is among the "things that were," and its dead body lies among us, "extending full many a rood." But the genius of modern enterprise has sounded a resurrection trumpet over its grave, and to-day the "iron steed" tramples hourly over the very lid of its coffin; while above its track, invisible couriers on wings of lightning bring us within "electric touch" of our friends all over the world. To-day our railroads and telegraphs "box the four points of the compass."

Before leaving our homes you may look upon scenes awaken-

ing sad memories. In our churchyard and cemetery you will read the record of the "loved and lost," but you will also look upon the graves of patriots and heroes who gave their lives to their country in our great war, and bequeathed their memories to us; and over whose sacred dust, as the seasons return, we will scatter the flowers of gratitude and love. We point also with pride to almost two hundred living soldiers, who attested their willingness, if the country had demanded the sacrifice, to lay their bodies by the side of their slain comrades in glory. But I will no longer indulge in these complacent utterances, although pardonable in our family gathering, but will hasten again and again, to offer welcome to each and every one. Ye fathers, with hair bathed in molten silver —ye mothers, with names dearer and holier than any earthly name—young men with vigor crowned, and maidens "fairer than the light,"—one and all, welcome, a thousand times, WELCOME!

J. B. Eldredge, Esq., responded felicitously.

Mr. L. F. Thayer then read the stanzas here inserted, written for the occasion by Miss Fanny Buhler Bates, one of the daughters of the orator of the day.

We come, we come, this festal day, to join the joyful throng,
Who meet to pass the golden hours in mirth and happy song;
Away with care! let every heart with quickened fervor glow!
We tread the paths our fathers trod, two hundred years ago!

Still rush the restless rivers down to meadows fresh and fair,
And sing their songs through grove and field, and love to linger there;
Till, met at last, in gentler mood the mingled currents flow;
But where are they, who watched their tide, two hundred years ago?

Still rise the mountains in their might, from plains that wave around;
And proud Tekoa lifts her head, with loftier honors crowned;
Still guardian hills encircle round the vale that sleeps below;
But they are gone, who climbed their heights, two hundred years ago!

We come to press, with reverent feet, this memory-hallowed ground,
Where sleep the great, heroic dead, 'neath many a grassy mound;
To brush the dust from bygone years, and bid the record show
The honored deeds of those, who lived two hundred years ago.

We come to gather up the links of friendship's severed chain;
To wander back o'er life's long path, and find our youth again;
To grasp the hands of early friends, whose lifelong faith we know,
And talk of all our fathers did, two hundred years ago!

We come to rest, a few, brief days, within our childhood's home;
To garner up a precious store, for weary years to come;
Along the old, familiar streets, to wander to and fro,
And think, our fathers walked these ways, two hundred years ago!

And they are met with us to-day, although we heed them not!
Unseen by any mortal eye, they hover round this spot!
No sound of gathering hosts is heard; but yet, we feel, we know,
Our fathers meet, where first they met, two hundred years ago!

To Him who guides our wandering feet, to walk these pleasant ways,
And brings us to our home again, we lift a song of praise;
We bless Him for these fruitful fields;—that peace and plenty flow,
Where spread a trackless wilderness, two hundred years ago!

We praise Him for our honored dead, who fought the fight so well;
Who reared, through toil and anxious care, the homes where now we dwell;
We bless Him, that He nerved their arm, to vanquish every foe,
And smiled upon this lovely land, two hundred years ago!

The moments speed! relentless time his course will not delay;
We, too, shall fade and pass away, as dies this autumn day;
But children of the unborn years, with conscious pride will glow,
To tell of all their fathers did, two hundred years ago!

And as the pages of the past are bright with deeds of fame,—
As glory crowns the honored dead, and shouts their loud acclaim,—
So may unfolding days and years recurring tokens show,
Our fathers builded not in vain, two hundred years ago!

The next performance in the order was the singing of responsive hymns, entitled "Two Hundred Years Ago," and "Two Hundred Years to Come." It was a beautiful and effective performance. The hymns themselves were appropriate, and, of course, effective by their appositeness; but the interest in them was increased by the manner of their rendering, and by the harmonious tones of each of the responding choirs.

It should be known that, in the rear of the pulpit, is the place for the church choir, which is in front of the organ, filling the arch in the rear of the church, the front of the organ being thirty feet. In this choir were placed a part of the singers, who had been effectively trained for the exercises; and in the front gallery of the auditorium was the residue of the singers. We remark, in passing, that the singers who contributed so highly to the interesting parts of the performances, were some of the best singers of all the different religious societies of the town, and they were assisted by several amateurs, who volunteered their voices in the service of song, upon this memorable occasion.

The oration of Mr. Bates which followed was printed in full in the Bi-centennial volume from which the preceding quotations are made. It was an eloquent effort worthy of the occasion and of its gifted author.

CHAPTER XIV

The Latest Long Pastorate

In this chapter, dealing with so much that is intimately related to the life of the author of this history, the narrative is to be given in the first person. My relation to Westfield has been so close for so many years, now more than forty, that I prefer to treat it in this less formal way. When I first came to the town in the early winter of 1879 to investigate it as a possible field of labor, it bore ample proofs and reminders of the disastrous flood on the 10th of December preceding. On that one of its periodic rampages the river had overflowed its banks, carrying widespread destruction in its path. To one viewing it for the first time, Elm Street from the bridge to the vicinity of Orange Street presented a most unattractive appearance. On either side were great gullies, masses of debris, and buildings twisted from their foundations, resting at various angles away from their original positions and bearing more or less serious marks of devastation. It was a pitiable spectacle, and the features of ruin were not wholly removed until well on in the following spring.

In many other respects the appearance of the town was in striking contrast with its present trim and attractive condition. From the front yards of comparatively few of the residences had the fences been removed; the lawn mower, that important adjunct of the town beautiful, had not become a common possession as the discontinuance of fences demanded that it should be. At night the few lamp-posts with flickering gas-jets only served to accentuate the darkness of vast intervening spaces.

The first estimate of losses by the flood was naturally extravagant, but as modified a week after the tragic event they were conservatively placed at $25,000 for roads and bridges, with a total ranging from $125,000 to $300,000.

Many incidents occurred during the night while the flood was reaching its climax and gradually receding. A fire on

Bartlett Street involved the firemen, who responded to the alarm in the peril of their lives by drowning.

During the evening a man leading a cow by a rope appeared at the home of Mr. H. E. Warren on the high land of Chestnut Street and asked permission to put his cow into Mr. Warren's barn for the night. In reply to a question respecting the reason for the strange request, he told of the flood raging along the lowlands. When asked whether he had any family he answered in the affirmative, but added that he was totally ignorant of their whereabouts, though hoping that they had succeeded in finding a place of safety. The cow, he said, was a valuable one, and it seemed important to make sure that she was put out of danger.

The town appointed a committee of thirteen to deal with the large matters of public repairs of highways and bridges and reconstructing the dike to insure against any repetition of the dreadful calamity. The men composing it were M. B. Whitney, Reuben Noble, Allen Sibley, Chauncey D. Allen, L. R. Norton, Leonard Atwater, Thomas Kneil, L. F. Root, C. H. Gowdy, C. K. Yeamans, Hiram Fowler, F. S. Egleston and L. E. Gillett.

The work of protection was begun promptly and energetically under Capt. L. F. Thayer, at the "town island" some distance above the railroad bridge, broadening and deepening the channel of the river and carting the gravel for use in lengthening and strengthening the dike. So efficiently was the task accomplished as to prevent any serious flood damage during more than forty succeeding years, though often threatened.

A good beginning had been made in the matter of sidewalks, concrete having been laid on most of the important streets, and subsequent years have proved the town alert in furnishing its multiplying thoroughfares with such essential equipment. It must be confessed that there was a noticeable lack of civic pride in the appearance of buildings and grounds, mercantile and residential, which in the slow progress of the years has been almost completely remedied.

It is interesting to note that my arrival preceded the establishment in the town of a telephone system, though a few months afterward a modest exchange was inaugurated

wherein for many years "Charlie" Safford served as accommodating link between caller and called, combining in his single person all the functions now performed by operator, overseer, information, trouble clerk, manager, toll operator and what not. He was as essential to the telephone service as for a long series of years was Miss Alice Wheeler to the Western Union telegraph in her room over the post office, from the window of which she was wont to look out over the square to discover any citizen for whom a message might have arrived. Both were willing and faithful servants of the public, far more highly appreciated than commendatory words ever expressed.

Inasmuch as my arrival occurred during the bi-centennial year of the life of the church, a task of immense importance and difficulty was thrust upon me at the very outset. To prepare a sermon sketching even cursorily so long a period of the life of an institution of such significance in a New England community was a staggering demand upon a stranger. But I undertook it, recognizing the fact that if accomplished earnestly and faithfully it would bring me permanent compensation in such acquaintance with the actors and events of those two centuries as under ordinary conditions might never have been acquired. And in truth the novel experience of historical research thus gained fostered a growing desire to attempt the larger task of preparing a history of the town which has been in course of gratification since the resignation of my active pastorate in the spring of 1906.

That significant anniversary was formally recognized on Sunday, Oct. 5, 1879, in the meeting house of the First Church, with the Second Church uniting in the observance. It is reported in the issue of The Westfield Times and News Letter of the following Wednesday:

"A large assembly gathered at the First Church last Sabbath morning to listen to the services commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of the Society's natal day. The church was elaborately and tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreens, handsomely and artistically arranged in bouquets, festoons, garlands and other exquisite formations and impressive devices. Shields, bearing the names of the eight 'foundation men' of the church were arranged along the front of the galleries, four on each side of the house, hung

between festoons of evergreens, and decorated with flowers, cereals and 'the full corn in the ear.' The tablets of Rev. Edward Taylor and Rev. Dr. Davis were appropriately garlanded, the one with leaves of the oak, and the other with roses, —the latter speaking of a later bereavement, though both equally proclaiming that 'the memory of the just is blessed.' An arch built over the pulpit bore on its crest the dates '1679–1879,' while a scroll winding gracefully around the two pillars, intertwined with leaf and flower, bore the names of the eight pastors of the church who preceded Mr. Lockwood.

"Portraits of the pastors of the Second Church were prettily grouped and decorated on the front of the west gallery. Two large autumn bouquets placed in front of Mr. Lockwood's desk were universally admired for the artistic combination of their colors and the harmonious blending of their soft autumnal tints. * * A quartette composed of Mrs. Mary Mellen, Miss Mary E. Kingsley, H. B. Stevens, Esq. and Prof. Le Clair of Holyoke, began the exercises by singing Kotzschman's 'Te Deum in F.' Rev. Henry Hopkins read passages from Scripture appropriate to the occasion and offered prayer. Singing by the congregation of 'All hail the power of Jesus' name' followed, after which Rev. Mr. Lockwood gave an able and comprehensive discourse which we give to our readers in full.

"Though a comparative stranger to our town, it can be said, with as much surprise as justice, that Mr. Lockwood, by diligent study among the musty records of the last two centuries, not only did complete justice to the occasion historically, but he caught the inspiration of the hour and seemed to stand, and to make his hearers stand, in the august and almost divine presence of his great and venerated predecessors as he graphically unrolled the history of the First Church of Westfield for the last two hundred years. For lack of time Mr. Lockwood could not use all the wealth of antique lore that he had mined for the occasion; but we are requested to announce that the pamphlet edition of the sermon soon to be issued will contain in an ample appendix much of the deferred material.

"A praise service in the evening worthily closed the anniversary exercises. Several fine selections were well rendered by the quartette of the morning, assisted by Mrs. R. W. Parks

and Miss Mattie Loomis; selections of Scripture were read by Mr. Lockwood; and a brief but able discourse, eulogistic of the First Church and its founders, was given by Rev. Mr. Hopkins. Congregational singing also added to the enjoyment of the occasion. Mr. Hopkins spoke of the impressiveness of the occasion and of the tender and persuasive influence of the hour, calling all to cast in their lot with the people of God. After expressing the obligation of the churches to Mr. Lockwood for the patient research and the exacting toil which the writing of his sermon had demanded, he said:

"'It is proper for me to thank you especially for your kind mention of us in the Second Church, and also to recognize gratefully the cordial Christian courtesy of our reception here today. * * The circumstances attending the separation in 1856 were calculated to promote a spirit of true fellowship. We went out because the old home was crowded. Some one must go and you gave us your blessing. Dr. Davis counseled and carried out the colonization. * * There was no quarreling about it, no party strife, no schism in the body of Christ. It was only organizing another regiment in the same holy service. That movement, so inaugurated, was not a mistake. God has blessed it. Of the sixty members who, many of them with tears, cut loose from the old organization, thirty-three are still members of the Second Church. These are here with hearts aglow today. They are like naturalized citizens of our Republic to whom everything in the national life and history in the fatherland belongs fully up to the time of the new relation, and who in the new-formed ties do not forget to feel love and pride for the old. But the fact is, we all feel so.'

"In concluding Mr. Hopkins referred to the Fathers as having had little thought of symbolism in religion but in one significant act they unconsciously made use of a true symbolism. The rude church stood central among their rude homes, as the religious principle is central in man, and as it must be central in every enduring form of society. The love of God's house, not of the rough log building 'about 36 feet square,' not of the house made with hands, but of that living temple, the church of God, was the deep, tender, divine, life-giving principle that dwelt in the fathers. This, more than their right, Puritanic spirit, was that which distinguishes them. This has

been the potential, the molding influence which has come down from them. They put first that which is first forevermore. They made central in their hearts and homes and in their common life, that which in all rightly-organized life is central forevermore. The lesson of all this history is a plain one not to be forgotten by us. Those whom we commemorate honored the church of God; and God honored them according to His everlasting ordinance and in the fulfillment of His faithful promise.

"The committee in charge of the celebration through its Secretary, Herbert Lyman, received more than fifty letters of regret from persons near and far who were unable to accept invitations to be present."

The town suffered an irreparable loss by the death on Sept. 30, 1883, of Mr. Abner E. Gibbs, who had been for sixteen years the efficient and beloved Principal of the High School. His memory was honored a few years since by naming after him the beautiful modern school building on Silver Street, corner of South Maple Street. At the dedication of the building an old pupil of his, Rev. Lucius H. Thayer, D.D., of Portsmouth, N. H., paid a hearty and worthy tribute to Mr. Gibbs who had served with such rare ability successive generations of students, many of whom were there gathered to approve the encomium of the felicitous address.

In accordance with the progressive legislation of the Commonwealth, Westfield inaugurated the system of free textbooks in her schools at the opening of the autumn term in 1884. This action entailed a slight additional burden on the taxpayers, but it relieved many families in indigent circumstances of an expense which they could ill afford, at the same time sparing them the embarrassment of being singled out as recipients of public charity. Since all the pupils were thus provided there was no distinction between rich and poor as would have obtained had the legislative act provided only for such as should claim inability to bear the expense out of their own resources. It was graciously considerate legislation for which much praise is due to its authors and supporters.

In the autumn of 1884 the first women's club of the town was organized under the name of "The Hopefully Well Affected Club." The curious name was adopted from the

THE FIRST CHURCH MEETING HOUSE.

With its original spire 200 feet high, which was torn off by a gale, February 27, 1886. The old Conference House appears at the left of it, whither it was moved from the north end of the Academy lot, when bought by the church. It was sold to Thomas A. Lewis in 1866

concluding words of a letter written in the early years of the eighteenth century to Stephen Williams by a maiden to whom he was married in 1718. It begins with "Valuable Sir" and concludes thus—"I would not be too tedious but Subscribe myself, Sir, Your Very Observant and hopefully well affected Abigail Davenport." The pastorate of Rev. Stephen Williams over the church in Longmeadow was remarkable in many respects. The club has maintained vigorous activity from its organization to the present time.

In 1889 a group of about a dozen busy housewives began to meet on one afternoon a week for sewing and reading, and soon organized themselves into "The Tuesday Afternoon Club." Several of the original members, together with others since gathered, to the number of about thirty, still sustain the organization with quite formal literary schedules.

Two years later the "Tuesday Morning Club" began activities which are still maintained.

In September, 1884, the town provided for an elaborate system of surface sewers, greatly needed for its comfort and welfare.

The First Church suffered a serious disaster on Feb. 27, 1886. A gale from the northwest raged during the morning with increasing intensity, and about 11 o'clock broke off the beautiful spire just above the clock. It fell through the southern slope of the roof into the audience room, piling it with debris—splintered timber, plaster, slate, snow and ice. The bell crashed through the floor of the south-center aisle to the cellar, and the weather vane which had swung at a height of nearly two hundred feet rested in a pew at the western end of the south gallery. It was remarkable that the great mass of material escaped wholly the central gas fixture, not one of its two dozen porcelain globes having been even cracked.

I had been sitting at my study desk in the southwest room of the second story of the parsonage, awed by the terrific force of the wind, and wondering what havoc it would work, when my esteemed neighbor across the street, Rev. John H. Bisbee, came hurrying over to tell me of the calamity.

A few of the men of the church gathered to view with aching hearts the appalling scene. One of them remarked, "Well, we must borrow money to repair this shattered building,"

to which I promptly replied, "No, we must put our hands deep into our pockets and pay for repairs." My decision was justified by results. On October 10 following, the restored building was opened again for service, with bills amounting to more than $11,000 fully paid. Services were held for a time in Music Hall, and later, until repairs were completed, in the Town Hall next door.

Two years after that distressing event came "the great blizzard," which began early in the morning of March 12, 1888, the snow having continued to fall heavily until early in the following morning. There were no large flakes, but the air was thick with small pellets driven by a strong wind into every nook and cranny which could be found. Householders were kept busy removing small drifts which had been forced through cracks between window sashes and frames. Travel in the streets became increasingly difficult and finally practically impossible.

My personal experience of the historic storm was quite interesting. Having recently been elected president of the "Connecticut Valley Congregational Club," I had called a meeting of the executive committee for the afternoon of that day at the Massasoit House in Springfield. Of course I had to be there. In view of the great depth of the snow I donned my high wading rubber boots and laboriously forced my way to the station. There a belated train was stalled, but it finally succeeded in starting and slowly making enough headway to reach the west end of the Connecticut river bridge, and, after tedious delay, in crossing it. But it stalled and despaired of further effort before reaching the old station. It proved to be the last train from any direction which entered the city, and I secured the last available room in the Massasoit House. On Tuesday I managed to purchase shoes and rubbers, and other needful articles. Not until Thursday did a train run to Westfield, but meanwhile I blessed the telephone which enabled me to communicate with my family in the parsonage.

On May 6 of that year Westfield was honored by the establishment there of a District Court to deal with minor causes, all of which previously had been carried to Springfield, to

1902 he was succeeded by Willis S. Kellogg, who still retains the office.

It seems strange to our modern view that there ever could have existed in an enlightened community any considerable opposition to the employment of music as an educational factor of the public schools. However, at the town meeting in March, 1868, a special committee made the following report: "Too much attention is paid to Music, when the children should have been saying the Multiplication table, and too much time is taken up with foolish gymnastics or spent in theorizing on mental topics instead of drilling them in the text-books. Remember time is short and we cannot send children to school forever to acquire book learning."

Yet for about ten years thereafter Miss Mary E. Kingsley served the schools efficiently and faithfully as teacher of music, retiring in September, 1879. Not until nearly a decade later was a successor appointed.

At the town meeting in April, 1888, by action which proved notably fruitful in beneficent results, Sterrie A. Weaver was appointed Supervisor of Music. His ability and his success proved so remarkable that I have requested one who is eminently qualified for the task to supply me with a sketch of this notable man and his work, not only for the schools of our town but also for the cause of musical education throughout the country.

Mr. George H. Winslow, who for many years has been the efficient principal of the Normal Training School, and who himself has been earnestly and successfully promoting the cause of music among his successive generations of pupils, has generously prepared the following characterization, which I gratefully publish in full:

"There are but few New England towns that do not look with pride upon the work of at least one educator who has achieved more than local success. Westfield is no exception, and probably no one connected with its schools has attracted more favorable notice from the educational world than its first Supervisor of Music, Sterrie A. Weaver.

"During his early career he tried every known method of teaching music but with results which he considered failures. Nor were other Supervisors, so far as he could see, any more successful. Some were going about with violins playing the

tunes into the memories of children; some led with the piano, the children following as best they could; others sang for and with their pupils, while still others depended upon the natural singers to impress the new music. In every case the Supervisor pounded out the time, the pupil's work was purely imitative, and there was small chance for independent growth.

"With his characteristic determination Mr. Weaver began a closer study of the situation with the hope of bettering conditions; and how well he succeeded is known to all who have seen the results of the correct teaching of his system.

"Mr. Weaver claimed that with hardly an exception all can learn to sing, and proved it; that music should be looked upon in the same practical light as any other study; and that it broadens the child mentally, morally and physically. To him belongs the credit of introducing individual sight-singing and the teaching of time by pulsation. While some of his ideas were revolutionary, he was able to present them so clearly and concisely that he secured wide recognition of their reasonableness.

"In 1893, coming back from a year of study in Germany, he set to work with renewed zeal and his success was remarkable. Emerson says: 'Let a man do a thing incomparably well and the world will make a path to his door even though he live in a forest.' Soon after the system became established, a record was kept of the teachers and supervisors who visited the training school to see the Weaver system demonstrated. There were sixty-five, and more than half of them were from outside New England.

"In spite of opposition from houses publishing other systems and from rivals, the Weaver system so firmly established itself that probably a majority of the cities and towns of the United States teaching music in their schools are now using the system or parts of it.

"Mr. Weaver worked constantly, not excepting Saturdays, Sundays and holidays; and the amount of work he accomplished was marvelous. In addition to his work in Westfield schools, he supervised the schools of Torrington and Winsted, later dropping the Connecticut positions to become a member of the faculty of the State Normal School at Westfield and Supervisor of Music at Amherst; and while carrying these heavy pro-

grams he gave piano and vocal lessons, had charge of a church choir in connection with which he did much solo work, and lectured extensively even in distant states. In 1899 he established the Weaver Summer School for teachers and supervisors, which was a marked success from the start. Two years after his death, April 20, 1904, the school was removed from Westfield to Northampton, where it still flourishes under another name.

"Perhaps Mr. Weaver's greatest individual triumph was at the National Education Association meeting in 1903, when an entire grade was taken to Boston for a demonstration in the New England Conservatory of Music, before more than 500 supervisors. The test which had been written by Supervisors representing different sections of the country was brought in by the expressman and opened on the platform in sight of all. The music was passed to the children. Neither they nor Mr. Weaver had seen it before. The children were allowed a minute to scan it; then in turn each came forward, called the number of his slip (duplicate sheets had been supplied the audience) and sang. Of the thirty-six, an entire eighth grade, only three made an error. This work was followed with equally good results by sight-singing from books.

"Mr. Weaver had a rugged personality, magnetic in spite of brusqueness. He abominated shams in any form, but especially in school work. Strangers often misunderstood him, but children were not slow in recognizing his generous disposition and tender heart.

"Today, from Maine to California, education is a sweeter force, a more welcome influence in directing the progress of our race, because Sterrie A. Weaver made his way into the innermost councils of the pedagogues."

Mr. Weaver published "A Course of Music Study for Public Schools," "The Teacher and the Supervisor," and "Weaver's Musical History for the Grades."

Another of the teachers of the town has entered the field as author of school text-books. Mr. George W. Miner, who in June, 1916, resigned his position after having for eighteen years served as Principal of the Business Department of the High School, has in recent years published "Practical Business Arithmetic," "Concise Business Arithmetic," "Accounting

and Business Practice," "Banking," "Commission and General Merchandise" and "Principles of Bookkeeping." In the first four of them he was associated with John H. Moore, and in the last one with Prof. F. E. Elwell, University of Wisconsin.

In passing it is a distinct pleasure to note the publications of two cherished friends, women of fine culture and rare literary taste, Fanny B. Bates and her sister Mrs. Jennie A. Bates Greenough. The compilation of the former was brought out in 1887 by A. D. F. Randolph and Co. under the caption "Between the Lights, Thoughts for the Quiet Hour."

The compilations of Mrs. Greenough, by the same publishers, appeared respectively in 1894, bearing the title "At Dawn of Day, Thoughts for the Morning Hour," and the second in 1892, "A Year of Beautiful Thoughts for Boys and Girls." These anthologies have been, since their publication, cherished possessions of many hearts in many homes.

On May 22, 1888, a Young Men's Christian Association was organized in town, which during subsequent years has proved to be of incalculable benefit. Many years earlier a similar organization had been formed but had been allowed to die for lack of adequate support.

An important advance in educational affairs was made in September, 1889, by the appointment of a Superintendent of Schools. The town was exceedingly fortunate in securing for that responsible position George H. Danforth, a man of rare ability, who for many years was signally successful in administering its affairs. Mr. George M. Winslow has increased his claim upon my gratitude by furnishing the following discriminating and appreciative sketch of Mr. Danforth's admirable work.

"The school committee whose privilege and duty it was to choose the first Superintendent of Schools for Westfield with remarkable discernment selected George H. Danforth, a far-seeing, clear-thinking executive of ability, judgment and experience. Mr. Danforth began his work in August, 1889, and continued as Westfield's Superintendent up to the time of his death in 1906.

"To be the first Superintendent of the school system of a large and critical town, at a time when the employing of a

Superintendent was considered by some voters a doubtful experiment and by some teachers an encroachment on their prerogatives, was not an enviable position. The high standing soon attained by the schools proved Mr. Danforth's ability and the wisdom of the school board in selecting him. To many teachers he first revealed the possibilities of teaching and opened for them the gateway into the magic land of modern methods.

"Mr. Danforth early in life decided to be a teacher, and after an introductory career in several rural schools, became principal of the Adams school in Quincy. This appointment, at a time when Quincy was a leading educational center under the leadership of that noted educational reformer, Colonel Parker, was a great compliment. Mr. Danforth's success in Quincy was so marked that the superintendency at Walpole and Bridgewater was offered him. He accepted the position, thus coming into touch with one of the leading normal schools in the country. And so when he came to Westfield he brought with him not merely a college education, but training and experience possessed by comparatively few superintendents.

"Among his marked characteristics, none stood out more strongly than enthusiasm. He was in love with his work, and the thought of changing his profession apparently never entered his mind. He not only kept office hours at the committee rooms, but turned his front parlor into a study, and was always ready to receive the public concerning school matters. Although at times in most precarious health, no one ever saw him when he was not ready to give unsparingly of his helpful services; and so vigorous was his mind that even his most intimate friends forgot that he was not a giant physically.

"His judgment concerning the ability of teachers was exceptional. The fact that an applicant was a graduate of this or that school seemed to bear but little weight with him. 'How much can you teach?' was the vital question, with the accent on teach. When, however, he had once engaged a teacher, he gave cordial, helpful support, and expected in return loyal co-operation.

"He was not a faddist. His judgment concerning the adoption of books and methods was seldom in error. When

he presented a new method to his teachers they had the assurance that it would work out successfully."

"The teachers were better professionally for his supervision and association. They were better men and women for the high ideals he constantly set before them."

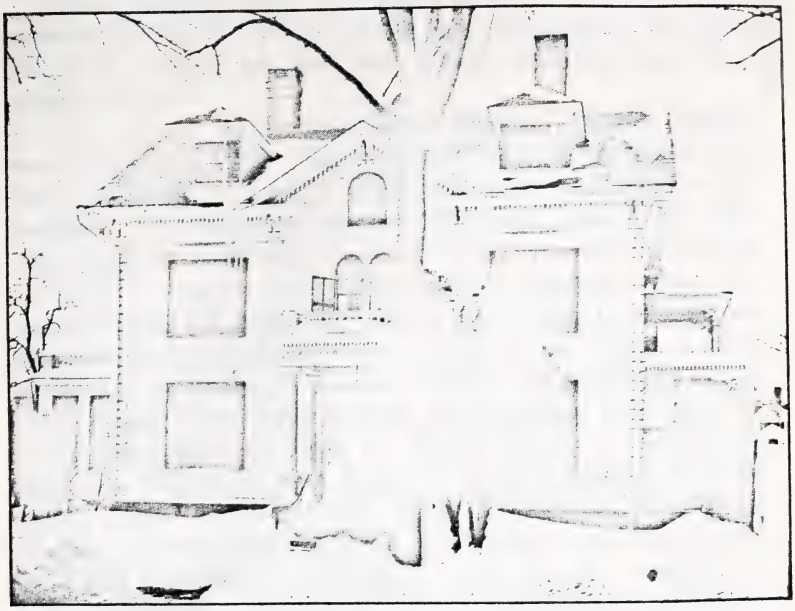
The last remnant of the old Canal in the thickly settled part of the town was removed in June, 1889, when the task of filling up the remaining section was completed by the N. Y., N. H. & H. H. R. Co.

The cornerstone of the Universalist Church on Elm Street was laid in that same month. In August following the Gamewell Fire Alarm system was installed, thus concluding the time-honored custom of wildly clanging the church bells upon the discovery of a fire with no index of the particular district in which it was located.

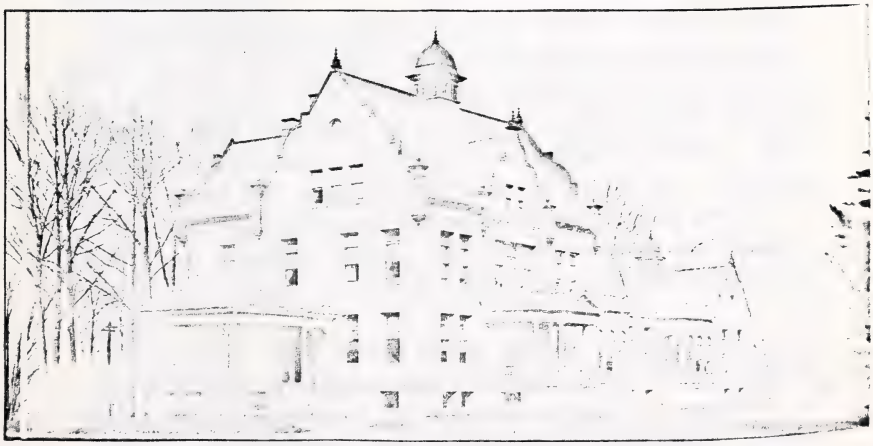
On the night of November 10, 1890, the historic annex to the High School was burned, the old home of the Westfield Academy, dedicated on Jan. 1, 1800, sacred and dear to many generations of students. The old Paul Revere bell, bought in 1801, was thus released from its hangings and later found partly melted in the debris, no more to urge tardy feet to scholastic duties.

This disaster occurred but two months after the dedication of the remodeled and enlarged High School building on Sept. 18, the month in which the Business Course had been instituted. The exercises on that occasion, presided over by Hon. E. B. Gillett, consisted of a song of welcome by the High School choir under the guidance of Professor Weaver; words of welcome by R. H. Kneil, Chairman of the school committee; historical incidents of the Westfield Academy by Principal J. C. Greenough; historical incidents of the Westfield High School by William H. Foote; address by J. W. Dickinson, secretary of the State Board of Education; singing of a dedicatory hymn written for the occasion by Miss Sara M. Kneil. In the evening there was a reception to, and reunion of, former students of the Academy and High School, with music by Alstrom's orchestra.

In the line of public improvements may be noted the granting of a street railway franchise Aug. 4, 1890, and the completion of the paving of Elm Street, Sept. 16, 1892.



THE SARAH GILLETT HOME FOR AGED PEOPLE.
Located on Broad Street. The gift of Mr. Ralph D. Gillett.



NOBLE HOSPITAL.
West Silver Street.

Noble Hospital, that institution which has been of such incalculable benefit to the town, was incorporated on April 26, 1893, though not put into actual operation until four years afterward.

The will of its public-spirited founder, Reuben Noble, was filed July 2, 1890. The estimated value of his estate was about $130,000, a third of which was to be available for the hospital. The following provision for it was made in his will: "Having been led by my recent unfortunate personal experience carefully to consider the subject-matter contained in the provisions of this will, and being satisfied that I cannot make a more wise and useful disposition of a portion of my estate, I give, devise and bequeath all the rest, residue and remainder of the estate I may have at my decease, real, personal and mixed of every description to Eliza C. Noble, Sarah L. Lockwood, Maria L. Waterman, Mrs. Robert F. Parker, Charles H. Yeamans, James Noble, Jr., Mr. James A. Shepard, Charles L. Weller, and Robert H. Kneil, all of Westfield, and their associates and successors as trustees in trust for the purpose of establishing and maintaining in said Westfield a hospital to be known as the Noble Hospital, for the reception of persons who may need medical or surgical treatment during temporary sickness or injury."

The First Church voted on July 24, 1893, to build a Parish House for the convenience and enlargement of its activities. As finally completed in July of the following year at a cost, including land purchased as a site, of about $20,000, it was attached to the church building at its southwest corner. The dimensions of the main structure are 50 by 60 feet. On the ground floor are parlors, dining room, kitchen, cloak and toilet rooms, and a pastor's room. On the second floor are Sunday School class rooms in double tiers, an audience room and library.

During the latter period of my service of ten consecutive years of service as Superintendent of the Sunday School I found this increased equipment of immense advantage, resulting in a great enlargement of its membership, unparalleled in its previous history.

At the March meeting of 1893 the town voted to separate the function of the Board of Health from that of the Selectmen,

and appointed to that office Leonard Atwater, John R. Reed and Lewis F. Root.

The first Supervisor of Drawing in the public schools was appointed in September of that year, Miss Eliza Rust, who became Mrs. Arthur C. Moseley and served for several years. The town voted to appropriate the Dog Fund to the Atheneum in April, 1895, and in that same month the trustees voted to make it a free library to all citizens of the town. In July following the street railway company completed the electrification of its lines.

The new Main Street bridge over Little River was inspected and approved on April 29, 1899. The new County bridge over Great River antedated that by more than two years, having been completed Dec. 17, 1896. In January of the same year the old covered bridge near the railway station was burned and an appropriation of $18,000 was made for a new one. In those two instances problems which for generations had often perplexed the town as successive bridges were swept away by floods seem to have been permanently solved.

The elevation of the Boston and Albany railroad tracks and consequent elimination of a dangerous grade crossing was decided upon in July, 1896, and completed so that the passage for traffic under them was opened in November following. The Ashley Street school, including the first public kindergarten, was opened on Oct. 19, 1898.

Later in the same month the Baptist Memorial Building, presented to the church, and standing next its house of worship on the north, was opened, a gift from Mrs. Florence Allen Hays.

The dedication of Noble Hospital occurred on Feb. 24, 1897, with the following exercises:

Prayer by Rev. John H. Lockwood; addresses by Charles N. Oakes, for the town; Dr. Harlow Gamwell, for the physicians; Herbert N. Kingsbury, for the business men; Rev. L. H. Blake, Rev. R. B. Estin, Rev. M. E. Andrews and Rev. L. H. Dorchester.

Capt. Lucius F. Thayer presented the sum of $5,000 from Mrs. J. S. T. Stranahan of Brooklyn, N. Y., for the establishment of a free bed.

At the April meeting, 1898, the curfew law was adopted

requiring children to be at home at 9 p.m. unless accompanied by parents or guardians.

At the March meeting in the year following the town voted to purchase the gas and electric lighting plant, and has operated it successfully ever since.

In September, 1899, the new Granville water system was first used, supplementing the Montgomery system which had been used since 1874.

The electric car service to Tatham began operation early in December, 1899.

The directors of the Shurtleff Mission held their first meeting in October of that year. This home for dependent children was established by funds bequeathed by Rev. David Shurtleff, and has wrought a very beneficent ministry during the years that have passed since its establishment.

The earliest use in town of individual communion cups was at the First Church on the first Sunday in May, 1901. They were presented to the church by a considerate member who desired to have his name withheld, who is honored by being a lineal descendant of its first settled minister.

The Western Hampden Historical Society was organized on June 14, 1901, and deserves far more general support than it has received hitherto. A town of the size of Westfield and with the significant history which belongs to it should maintain generously and enthusiastically such an important institution as an educational center and as the custodian of precious memorials of the town's life.

Manual training was incorporated into the curriculum of the schools in September, 1901, and on the 29th of that month the Young Men's Christian Association building on Elm Street which had cost about $15,000 was dedicated.

The office of Town Almoner was instituted in May, 1902, with Frederick A. Rich as the first incumbent. From then until July, 1902, he diligently acted in that capacity.

President Theodore Roosevelt visited the town on September 2, 1902, and made an address from a platform erected for the purpose on Park Square about where the statue of Gen. William Shepard now stands. He was most enthusiastically received and applauded by an immense crowd of citizens, who were indebted for the significant privilege to

Secretary Cortelyou, earlier connected with the Westfield Normal School.

The new and pretentious building of that school had been dedicated three months previously. Free rural delivery of mail was instituted by the postoffice department on Jan. 1, 1903, and in the same month was dedicated the handsome Father Mathew Hall on Bartlett Street.

In June of that year electric cars first ran to Hampton Ponds and a few days later to Holyoke. Instruction in cooking was begun in the public schools in September following.

Early in that year, on Feb. 28, 1903, the Keep Memorial Building as an adjunct to Noble Hospital was dedicated, a generous gift of Mrs. James W. Keep in memory of her late husband. It was needed for the care and treatment of contagious cases which were debarred from the original building.

At the laying of its cornerstone in May of the preceding year, the exercises were as follows:

Hymn, "O God, our help in ages past." Prayer by Librarian George Stockwell, who represented the Episcopal church of which Mrs. Keep was a member. Opening remarks by Rev. J. D. Pickles. Address by Rev. John H. Lockwood. Remarks by James H. Clark, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen, and R. H. Kneill, President of the Board of Trustees of Noble Hospital.

The exercises at the dedication, in charge of Robert H. Kneil, who made a brief address, were as follows: Address by Rev. W. C. Gordon. Presentation by Mrs. James W. Keep, who was associated with Mrs. Reuben Noble, Mrs. John H. Lockwood and Mrs. Robert F. Parker on the Board of Trustees of Noble Hospital. Address by Miss Linda Richards, Superintendent of Nurses at the State Hospital, Taunton, who took for her subject, "The Growth of Small Hospitals in our Country and the Necessity of Different Departments for such." Prayer by Rev. J. D. Pickles.

In May, 1904, provision was made to use what had been the Crowson residence on the south side of Silver Street as an Aged People's Home. Its needs were far more amply supplied through the generosity of Ralph D. Gillett, who, after having enlarged and equipped what for many years had been the residence of his Father, Darwin L. Gillett, an honorable and

successful merchant of the town, presented it to the trustees of the institution. Representing a value of about $30,000 it was opened with appropriate exercises on September 23, 1908, and since then has accomplished a most beneficent ministry.

The Silver Jubilee of my pastorate was made a notable occasion through the generous and enthusiastic co-operation of many friends under the direction of the dear old church.

At the morning service on Sunday, May 15, 1904, I preached a sermon outlining the history of my service of twenty-five years. All the departments of the Sunday School met at noon in the audience room, and were addressed by two former pupils who had gone from the town to fill important positions elsewhere, Rev. Arthur L. Gillett, D.D., and Rev. Charles S. Thayer, Ph.D., both of the Hartford Theological Seminary.

At the evening service, in which the Second Church joined, the sermon was delivered by Rev. Judson Titsworth, D.D., of Milwaukee, Wis., who was the only former pastor of the church then living.

Most interesting exercises were held on the next afternoon, heartily sustained by many intimate friends of mine representing various institutions and organizations, as follows: Organ Prelude; Choir Selection; Scripture Reading by the pastor; Prayer by Rev. E. C. Davis, Pastor of Methodist Church; Address, Rev. Henry Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., President of Williams College; Hymn; Brief Addresses by Rev. Edward A. Reed, D.D., of the Hampden Conference of Churches, Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D.D., of the Connecticut Valley Congregational Club, and Rev. William R. Newhall, D.D., of the Connecticut River Valley Theological Club. Choir Selection. Brief Addresses by Rev. W. C. Gordon, Ph.D., Pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Rev. W. S. Ayres, Pastor of the Baptist Church and Robert H. Kneil, a fellow-citizen of the pastor, Closing Words by Rev. Judson Titsworth, D.D., Prayer by the pastor, Doxology, Benediction.

During his address Doctor Gordon presented me with a handsome silver loving cup from friends in the Second Church, a significant gift which touched me deeply and which I have continued to appreciate most heartily.

On the evening of that day, the Home Fund Society, composed of loyal and efficient women of the church who have

done much for its welfare during many years, tendered to Mrs. Lockwood and myself a public reception in the parlors of the Parish House. Hundreds of friends, men, women and children from church and town, pressed upon us gracious greetings and felicitations. On that occasion a graceful and beautiful silver loving cup, heavily freighted with gold pieces, was presented to us, bearing the following inscriptions:

"Rev. John H. Lockwood
and
Sarah B. Lockwood."
"First Church of Christ
Westfield
Massachusetts
1879–1904 "
"From Loving Friends."

The whole celebration of the two days, arranged so considerately and executed so heartily, replete with loving-kindnesses, was a crowning event in a pastorate of rare privilege and happiness, destined to continue in its active form during two succeeding years, when, May 14, 1906, I retired as Pastor Emeritus.

The town was greatly stirred in July, 1905, by the encampment on its northern plains of the State Militia, where years later various large contingents of troops received preliminary training for participation in the World War overseas, giving Camp Bartlett a wide and honorable reputation.

The Westfield State Sanatorium was opened in 1910. It is located on a tract of 300 acres on the hill just west of the Lane traprock quarries, near the West Springfield line. It includes the original farm of Thomas Noble, one of the earliest settlers, whose son Thomas's dwelling, later known as "the old Day house," long stood as an ancient landmark until removed to make room for the Sanatorium buildings. They include the Administration, Service, arranged to care for 160 patients, with sundry other buildings needed for various uses, including a well equipped schoolhouse. Since the Sanatorium was established it has been under the efficient and faithful superintendency of Dr. Henry D. Chadwick, ably seconded by his wife.

MONUMENT OF GEN. WILLIAM SHEPARD.

Facing down Broad Street; dedicated September 3, 1919.

Concluding a long and honorable career as lawyer and citizen in 1913, Henry Fuller, Esq., bequeathed $1,000 toward the erection of a monument to General Shepard. In 1917 the Town appropriated $3,500 for that purpose and contributions of $4,000 were made by descendants of General Shepard and other interested persons. Mr. Augustus Lukeman of New York, the eminent sculp-

CHAPTER XV.

The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

At a town meeting held September 18, 1918, it was voted that a committee of one hundred should be appointed to arrange for a fitting observance of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the town. In accordance therewith the moderator appointed the following persons:

The four surviving members of the bi-centennial committee of 1869,—Lucius F. Thayer, James C. Greenough, Edwin B. Smith, and Luther H. Beals;

The board of selectmen, Morrell H. Moore, William K. Buschmann, Louis L. Keefe;

Clarence A. Brodeur, moderator;

George W. Searle, town clerk;

Frank A. Snow, chairman board of assessors;

Dr. Archibald J. Douglas, chairman board of health;

Harry C. Lane, chairman water commissioners;

Chester H. Abbe, chairman municipal light board;

Robert Chapin Parker, chairman school committee;

George B. Church, president board of trade,

And 85 citizens, including 16 women.

At a subsequent town meeting a committee of five was appointed to have charge of procuring and erecting a suitable monument to General Shepard as follows; Henry W. Ely, chairman, James C. Greenough, William T. Smith, and Arthur S. Kneil.

The committee of one hundred appointed the following committees:

Executive, of twelve, William B. Reed, chairman, with an advisory board of seventeen;

Finance, Louis C. Parker, chairman;

Publicity, George W. Searle, chairman;

For publication of History of Town, James H. Clark, chairman;

Educational, Robert Chapin Parker, chairman;
Invitation, Frank Grant, chairman;
Transportation, George D. Roe, chairman;
Souvenir program, William F. Lyman, chairman;
Music, Harvey J. Cleveland, chairman;
For marking historic sites, Louis M. Dewey, chairman;
Industrial exhibit, George L. Gaylord, chairman;
Decoration, Percy N. Hall, chairman;
Hostess house and loan exhibit, Mrs. Henry D. Chadwick, chairman;
Welcome home to service men, Rev. Clement E. Holmes, chairman;
Historical addresses, William T. Smith, chairman.

Pageant of Westfield presented at Wolfpit Meadows, September 1,—executive board, Mrs. Patty Lee Waterman Clark, chairman;
Arranged and staged under the direction of Henry E. Munsey and Miss Josephine C. Reed.
Musical director, E. R. Hawley;
Historical censors, Louis M. Dewey, Frank Grant, James C. Greenough, Rev. John H. Lockwood, Lucius F. Thayer, Mrs. Maria Moseley Whitney.
Sub-committees of Pageant:
Costumes, Mrs. Grace Dillon Doherty, chairman;
Funds, William K. Buschmann, chairman;
Grounds, Edgar L. Gillett, chairman;
Miscellaneous, Mrs. Mary Myers Parker, chairman;
Music, Edwin B. Hedges, chairman;
Publicity, Mrs. Harriet Dyson Ely, chairman;
Talent, Mrs. Frances Abbott Sackett, chairman;
Tickets, Mrs. Elizabeth Bush Fowler, chairman.

The elaborate exercises of the Pageant, with over 500 performers, were executed with remarkable success on Monday afternoon to the satisfaction of an immense concourse of spectators.

The Historical Meeting on Sunday evening at the Methodist church was an impressive opening of the celebration, presided over by Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the National House of Representatives.

The following order of exercises was carried out:

Organ Prelude, Lena J. Bartlett.
Anthem by Anniversary Chorus.
Invocation, Rev. William S. Ayres.
Address of Welcome, Edwin W. Smith.
Address, Hon. Frederick H. Gillett.
"Home, Sweet Home," Ernestine Gauthier Reed.
Historical Address, Rev. Lucius H. Thayer, D.D.
250th Anniversary Hymn by Mary S. Thayer, Anniversary Chorus and Audience.
Address, Judge M. H. Sullivan.
Organ Postlude, "Hallelujah Chorus," Lena J. Bartlett.
Benediction, Rev. Conrad Hooker.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY HYMN.

We have read the valiant story of the founders of the land,
For their home the trackless forest, with fierce foes on every hand,
Men and women of stern fibre, here for truth and God to stand,
For faith was marching on.

We have seen their children's children in their conflict over fate,
High of heart and strong of purpose, rise unconquered and elate,
Having won their independence, and in justice reared a state,
For right was marching on.

Here have lived the many thousands, men of brawn and men of brain,
Giving faithful, loyal service, recking little toil and strain,
So they wrought some goodly labor, so their town and state made gain,
For hope was marching on.

We have known the awful sorrow of a nation crucified,
We have thrilled with holy fervor o'er its heroes who have died,
We have seen the gates of freedom here forever opened wide,
For truth was marching on.

We have lived thro' days of anguish while lads' souls were passing on,
All aflame with love and ardor, that a world might be new-born,
They the crown of all our service, in the century's glad morn,
When peace is marching on.

And we sing the wondrous vision of the days that are to be,
When the angel of His presence hovers over land and sea,
And all men shall live as brothers, ruled by love and equity,
For God is marching on.

The address by Dr. Thayer, a loyal son of Westfield, was most notable and eloquent, marked by a fine discernment of the spirit of the Fathers, and stimulating those who are heirs to this goodly heritage to preserve and transmit to succeeding generations worthiest ideals and purposes.

The military parade on Wednesday was bravely carried out in spite of a torrential rain, Lieut. Col. Edwin R. Van Deusen, who entered West Point Military Academy from Westfield, acting as marshal.

The exercises incident to the dedication of the General Shepard monument were held in the Methodist church in the following order:

"Gloria from Twelfth Mass.," 104th Regiment Band.
Address of Welcome, Henry W. Ely, chairman.
"America," Bands, Chorus, and Audience.
Invocation, Rev. John H. Lockwood.
Introduction of Augustus Lukeman, Sculptor, chairman.
Presentation of Monument, Arthur S. Kneil.
Acceptance of Monument, Louis L. Keefe.
Address, John C. Robinson.
American Hymn, Choir.
Address, Governor Calvin Coolidge.
Oration, Honorable Samuel W. McCall.
Address, Major General Clarence R. Edwards.
"Commandery March," Consolidated Bands, 104th and Short's.

The whole celebration was carried out with immense success in spite of the handicap of the inclement weather of two closing days. It revealed and intensified the loyalty of the sons and daughters of Westfield—those at present residents of the town, and other multitudes whose homes are scattered from end to end of our common country, to whom the old home makes abiding appeal. It was well worth while to observe so elaborately the significant anniversary emphasizing the heroism of the Fathers and exalting the ideals which are the essential basis of hope for all succeeding generations.

APPENDIX

PETITION FOR A GRANT OF THE NEW ADDITION, 6,000 ACRES. JANUARY 12, 1736.

To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Capt. Generall and Governor within & over his Majestie's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the Honorable the Council, & the Honorable the House of Representatives in Generall Court Assembled.

The Humble Petition of Thomas Ingersole, Representative of the Town of of Westfield, Sheweth:

That he is directed by his principalls the Town of Westfield, to Shew to your Excellency and Honorrs, that the Bounds of their Township West & Northwesterly, as they now Stand, are to the Top or ridge of the mountain which is verry uncertain In that in some places the Top or Ridge Can't be known. In some other places the Ridge or Top Is a Mile West of the Ridge In other places and therefore verry Crooked and uncertain. Now May it please your Excellency and Honours the Case so Stands that the Bounds of the said Town of Westfield may be made Certain By Granting to the Proprietors of said Town the Land Between said Bounds and the Township granted to the proprietors of the Town of Suffield and the land laid out to the Heirs of James Taylor Esq deceased the Land contained Between which Bounds is about six Thousand acres and is in some places a mile and Half wide and in some places but a few Rods and then your Petitioners prays they may Run a Line from the South West Corner of Northampton town bounds to the Nor East Corner of Suffield proprietors bounds then going a Long that Township Round the Land laid out to said Taylor's heirs to the South East Corner bounds and then running a Parralel line with the South line of sd proprietors Township East 22 D: G. south to the said Township of Westfield the Lands Contained within wich is very broken Land fit for Nothing else but Herbage now your Petitioners has these reason to offer to enduce this Honble Court to grant sd Land.

And 1 ye Inhabitants of said Town are settled on Intervel Meadows and there is almost no feeding Land In said Township for the Cattle and sheep to feed on.

2ly the people of said Town have alwayes yed Leved [had level] fronteers in the West part of this Province and suffered much by the Indian Wars.

3ly It will Render the Bounds of the said Town Certain, and prejudice no Town or person.

4thly the Petitioners Will Engage that the Grantee shall make and maintain for Ever a Good Cart Way where the Road now runs or near that To the said Township Granted of the proprieters of Suffield which will be a Considerable benefitt to the publick there being three Towns Westward now Setled or Setling and four more Lately Granted westward to be Setled In a Short

Space which Rode is the publick and Common post Rode always before Used to Albany And your Pettition Shall as In Duty Bound Eaver pray.

THOMAS INGERSOLE.

In the House of Representatives, July 3d, 1736. Read and Ordered that the prayer of the petition be granted and the Lands therein delineated and described be and hereby are accordingly given and granted to the proprietors of the said town of Westfield their heirs & assigns respectively provided the Grantees do forthwith or as soon as may be open and Constantly keep in repair hereafter a good & safe Cart way over the granted premises in the road that leads from Westfield to Housatonnoc commonly called the Albany Road provided also this Grant does not prejudice the grants lately made and laid out to the Heirs of the late Treasurer Mr James Taylor deceased at the pond called ten miles pond, the said Grantees concluding not to hold the same, but it is to be esteemed and looked upon as among the upper Housatonnoc Equivalent; and also that part of the Grant of seven hundred acres of Land to the heirs of the late Reverend Mr John Williams of Deerfield deceased which may or does fall within the lines of the prayed for premises according to the plat lately passed and confirmed by this Court; and also that this grant does not exceed the quantity of six thousand acres of Land exclusive of the said provisos and does not interfere with any or former Grant. C Add-Provided also That the Grantees do, as soon as may be, lay out two hundred Acres of the granted premises for the present minister of the said Town his heirs and assigns, two hundred acres for the ministry and one hundred acres for the school forever and return a Plat of the Premises and the Sequestrations before mentioned, to this Court within twelve months for confirmation.

Sent up for Concurrence.

J. QUINCY, *Speaker.*

In Council January 12, 1736.
Read and Concurred with the amendment at C.
Sent down for Concurrence.

J. WILLARD.

In the House of Representatives, January 12, 1736.
Read and Concurred.

J. QUINCY, *Speaker.*

15. Consented to.

J. BELCHER.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, September 25, 1869.

A true copy from Book of "Ancient Plans, Grants, &c.," vol. 3, page 99.
Attest, OLIVER WARNER,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Plat returned and accepted by the General Court June 10, 1737, 5,879 acres.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF OUTER-COMMONS, JULY 10, 1731-2.

Householders.	Acres.	Householders.	Acres.
John Phelps,	285	David Dewey,	69
Job Moadsley,	190	Charles Dewey,	69
David Ashley, Jr.,	230	Isaac Dewey,	49
Dea. Shepard,	375	Ensign Kellogg's heirs,	185
Jona. Shepard,	29	Joseph Sacket,	91
John Shepard, Jr.,	38	Samuel Bush's heirs,	145
Joseph Dewey,	109	Thomas Gunn,	58
David Noble,	38	Matthew Noble,	125
James Noble,	38	Joseph Root,	206
Jed. Dewey's heirs,	122	Samuel Lee,	89
Nehemi Loomas,	187	Mark Warner's wife,	40
Benj. Loomas,	15	Joshuah Root's heirs,	159
Nathaniel Bancroft,	163	James Saxton,	149
John Ponder,	55	Ebenezer King,	89
Capt. Ashley,	515	Widow Mary King's heirs,	49
Deliverance Church's heirs,	48	Elias Weller,	219
David King,	72	Abiah Williams,	30
John Bancroft,	215	Nathaniel Williams,	199
John Gunn,	265	Heirs of Nathaniel Williams,	99
Jonathan Ashley,	413	John Sacket, Sen.,	324
John Root,	187	Deacon Noble,	200
Moses Root,	144	Thomas Noble,	79
Benony Sacket,	81	Edward Martindale,	36
Thomas Ashley,	173	Thomas Pixley's heirs,	89
Rev. Mr. Bull,	36	Samuel Noble,	76
David Moadsley,	399	Thomas Dewey,	125
Samuel Root,	139	Daniel Bagg,	174
Consider Moadsley,	324	Daniel Bagg, Jr.,	84
Aaron Gunn,	298	Sargeant Luke Noble,	155
Daniel Gunn,	163	Mark Noble,	199
Stephen Kellogg,	298	Benjamin Sexton,	62
James Dewey,	149	Heirs of Eben Pixley,	50
John Fowler, Jr.,	190	Thomas Ingersol,	135
Abraham Fowler,	55	James Ashley,	163
Jacob Fowler,	40	Luke Noble, Jr.,	98
Isaac Fowler,	99	Captain Dewey,	174
John Lee,	187	Abijah Dewey,	69
John King's heirs,	54	Haines Kinsley,	265
Thomas Ponder,	64	Abel Cadwill,	30
Samuel Loomas,	159	Nathaniel Lee,	49
John Moadsley,	384	Samuel Fowler, Jr.,	299
Thomas Handchet,	99	Daniel Old,	10
William Sacket,	199	Samuel Kellogg,	40
Samuel Sacket,	80	Isaac Stiels,	30
William Loomas,	125	Ephraim Stiels,	20
Dea. Ashley,	287	Nathaniel Ponder,	60

Householders.	Acres.	Householders.	Acres.
Isaac Phelps,	89	Samuel Bush, Sr.,	60
Aaron Phelps,	49	Ransford Old,	20
Ebenezer Bush,	199	Israel Dewey's heirs,	98
Samuel Fowler, Jr.,	173	Joseph Taylor,	98
Samuel Handchet,	182	Jonathan Phelps,	98
Nathaniel Phelps,	37	Samuel Old,	12
Jonathan Fowler,	199	Eldad Taylor,	265

January 28, 1733-4. It was voted "to divide the rest of the land in the inner-commons, which is not disposed of in said scheeme," excepting what land is given to Sundary persons by way of Charraty, which are as followeth.

Householders.	Acres.	Householders.	Acres.
Rev. Mr. Bull,	10	Phillips Freeman,	10
Matthew Noble,	10	Joseph Egliston,	10
John Hains,	20	Nathaniel Egliston, Jr.,	10
Ephraim Stiels,	10	John Root, Jr.,	10
Isaac Stiles,	10	Charles Cootses' heirs,	10
Hanford Old	10	Thomas Gunn,	15
Daniel Old,	10	Aron Phelps,	10
Elisha Old,	10	Daniel Noble,	10
Nathaniel Lee, Sen.,	20	Jonathan Phelps,	10
Nathaniel Lee, Jr.,	10	Thomas Ponder,	10
Daniel Granger,	10	Thomas Handchit,	10
Jonah Stiels,	5		

At the same meeting, January 28, 1733-4, on a report of a committee, the inner-commons were allotted at the rate of "2 acres of land to one £ real estate, and the List is as followeth:"

Householders.	Acres.	Householders.	Acres.
Job Moadsley,	58	Samuel Loomis,	38
Lieut. Phelps,	57	Thomas Pondor,	09
David Ashley, Jr.,	40	John Lee,	26
Noah Ashley,	15	Isaac Fowler,	21
John Shepard, Jr.,	10	Aron Phelps,	14
Joseph Dewey,	34	Samuel Fowler, 2d,	74
Jude Dewey's heirs,	12	Daniel Old,	04
John Pondor,	12	Nathaniel Lee,	10
Nehemiah Loomas,	43	Jonathan Phelps,	14
Nathaniel Bancroft,	33	Jonathan Shephard,	15
Benjamin Loomis,	03	Joshua Loomas,	10
Deacon Shepard,	68	Samuel Kellogg,	30
Captain Ashley,	100	Isaac Stiels,	10
Widow Church,	12	Ephraim Stiels,	02
John Gunn,	55	Nathaniel Pondor,	20
John Bancroft,	43	William Loomas,	40
Lieut. Ashley,	83	Benoni Sacket,	07
John Root, Sen.,	37	Edward Martindale,	10

Householders.	Acres.	Householders.	Acres.
David King,	12	Adijah Dewey,	28
Steephon Nash,	05	Noah Pixley,	14
Thomas Ashley,	35	Thomas Dewey,	28
Ensine Moadsley,	90	Daniel Bagg,	55
Samuel Root,	29	Daniel Bagg, Jr.,	17
Lieut. Moadsley,	68	Ministree Land,	12
Aaron Gunn,	62	Daniel Noble,	16
Thomas Gunn,	05	Sargeant Luke Noble,	35
Daniel Gunn,	33	Abel Cadwill,	06
Ensine Taylor,	52	Hains Kinsley,	53
Stephen Kellogg,	83	Capt. Dewey,	31
James Dewey,	31	Luke Noble, Jr.,	16
John Fowler, Jr.,	38	James Ashley,	16
Abraham Fowler,	17	John Ingersol,	29
Jacob Fowler,	11	Lieut. Ingersol,	62
Samuel Lee,	23	James Noble,	14
Joseph Root,	41	Mark Noble,	40
Matthew Noble,	32	Benjamin Sexton,	12
John Root heirs,	30	Deacon Noble,	29
Samuel Bushe's 2d, heirs,	30	Israel Noble,	11
Joseph Sacket,	26	Thomas Noble,	24
Jona Fowler,	43	Nathaniel Williams,	40
Ensine Kellogg's heirs,	37	Sargeant Sacket,	32–10
David Dewey,	29	John Sacket, Jr.,	16–5
Samuel Handchit,	34	Daniel Sacket,	16–5
Samuel Fowler, Sen.,	40	Nathaniel Williams' heirs,	10
Nathaniel Phelps,	14	Abial Williams,	06
Ebenezer Bush,	40	Sargeant Weller,	47
Deacon Ashley,	70	Eber King,	25
Isaac Phelps,	18	James Sexton,	27
William Sacket,	44	James Sexton, Jr.,	07
Samuel Sacket,	15	Elijah Pixley,	12
Moses Root,	36	Israel Dewey's heirs,	27
Thomas Handchit,	27	John King's heirs,	18
John Moadsley,	79	William Clark's heirs,	16

A COPY OF LIEUT. JOHN SHEPARD'S MUSTER ROLL MINUTE MEN, WESTFIELD

74..10..2

A Muster Roll of the Company that came from Westfield.

	Town from where they came		from home 1775	Mile	p mile L.s.d.	or dis charged M.W.Dy	Miles per day	Amot L. s. d.		
Jno Shepard	Westfield	Lieut	Apr. 20	224		1.1		1. 2.10	Engaged	Aprl. 28
Zechh Bush	Do	L do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	4. 8.22	Discharged	May 28
Benjn Dewey	Do	Sergt	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	3. 5. 9¾	Do	12
Moses Dewey	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	3. 5. 9¾	Do	12
Gideon Shepard	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	1.3	52	2. 1. 9	Do	1
Asa Noble	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	3. 5. 9¾	Do	12
Israel Sacket	Do	Corpl	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	.12. 6¾	Enlisted	Apr. 28
Roger Noble	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	3. 1.10½	Discharged	May 12
Benjn Winchel	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	12. 6¾	Enlisted	Apr. 28
Jas Neinocks	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	12. 6¾	Do	28
Ruggles Winchell	Do	Drumr	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	3. 1.10½	Discharged	May 12
Jedidiah Taylor	Do	Fifer	Do	224	18.8	1.1	52	3.12.11½	Do	19
Willm Welch	Do	Private	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Enlisted	Apr. 28
Jbsh Colverson	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
James Derrick	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Jared Plumb	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Stephen Dewey	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
David Taylor	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Willm Robinson	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	52	11. 5	Do	28
Martin Root	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Eliah Dewey	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	..	2.17.11½	Discharged	May 12
Ashbel Noble	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Enlisted	Apr. 12
Abijah Dewey	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Aaron Chapman	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
David Ross	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
John Suell	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
(Second Page)										
Jno Smith	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Ignatius Lines	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Josh Senn	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Soln Williams	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Lewis Charles	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Luther White	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Martin Dewey	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Moses Gurne	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Phins Sexton	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Jno Dewey	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
David Piercy	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Abner Ward	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Moses Bush	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	Discharged	May 12
Ashael Owen	Do	Do	Do	...	....	1.1	..	11. 5	Enlisted	Apr. 12
David Kind	Do	Do	Do	...	....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Abner Sackett	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Do	28
Justin Pomeroy	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	1...1	52	3. 7.11½	Discharged	May 19
Nathl Truman	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	Do	12
Warham Gunn	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	Do	12
Danl Gunn	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Enlisted	Apr. 28
Reuben Wharfield	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	"	20
Josh Kellogg	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	Discharged	May 12
Eli Granger	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	"	12
Bartho Noble	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	1...1	52	3.17.11½	"	19
Amos Bush	Do	Do	Do	...	.....	1.1	..	11. 5	Enlisted	Apr. 28
Asah Mosley	Do	Do	Do	224	18.8	3.1	52	2.17.11½	Discharged	May 12
								74.10.2		

(The Pay Roll is signed)
Jno. Shepard Lieut:

Colony Masss Bay Dec: 27 1775

Jno. Shepard made solemn oath that this Roll by him Subscribed is just & true in all its parts————

Before me Moses Gill Justice peace thro' the province

(On the back is the following)

Watertown Jan. 13-1776

The subscriber a Comr. appointed by the Genl. Court to examine Muster rolls, hereby Certify that this roll is a true copy of the original

S. Holton } Comr.

In Council Jany 15. 1776 read & allowed & thereupon ordered that a warrt. be drawn on the Trasr. for 74..10..2 in full of the within Roll————

Perez Morton
Depy Secr—

Lieut. Jno Shepard
Alarm Muster Roll
Jany. 15—L74..10..2

WESTFIELD'S REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS.

Allen, William
Ashley, David
" James
" Israel
" Simeon
" William
Atkins, Luther
Bagg, Moses
" Daniel, Lt.
Ballantine, Ebenezer, Surg.
" William Gay
Ballard, John
Barker, Simeon
Barlow, Amos
Bigelow, Titus
Bills, William
Bliss, Elijah
Buel, Samuel, Lt.
Bush, Amos
" Moses
" Silas, Lt.
" Zechariah
" Aaron
" Daniel
Caldwell, Buckley
Carter, James, Jr.
" John
Chapman, Aaron
Charles, Lewis
Church, John
" William H.
Comstock, Ichabod, Sergt.
Copley, Noah
" William
Coye, Edey
Culverson, James
Day, Caleb
Derrick, James
Dewell, James
Dewey, Aaron
" Adijah
" Asoph
" Benjamin, Serg.
" Benjamin, 2d
" David
" Eliab
" Elisha
Dewey, Gideon
" Heman
" Herman
" Dea. Israel
" John
" Jonathan
" Martin
" Moses, Serg.
" Noah, Jr.
" Oliver
" Russell, Adj.
" Stephen
" Thaddeus
" Timothy
Donnelson, Eli
Drake, Moses
Eager, Ashbel
Egleston, Eber
Ensign, Datis, Jr.
" Isaac
Falley, Frederick
" Richard
Fowler, Bildad
" Bildad, Jr.
" Blackhach
" David
" David, Jr.
" Frederick
" John
" Luther
" Ebenezer
" Medad
" Saul
" Stephen
Frank, a negro boy
Frary, Daniel
Frost, John
Gaylor, John
Gaylord, Robert
Gordon, Samuel
Gould, Thomas
Granger, Eli
Graves, Eldad
Gray, John, Capt.
" Samuel
Gum, Daniel
Gunn, Moses

Gunn, Wareham
Hanchet, Moses
Hazard, Robert
Herrick, Ebenezer
" Ebenezer, Jr.
Hiscock, Daniel
" Phineas
Hitchcock, Ebenezer
Hoadley, James
Holcomb, Enoch, Jr.
Holliday, Jacob
Hoxman, Elijah
Hoose, Henry
Hoyse, Moses
Ingersoll, John, Esq.
" Oliver
" Stephen
Kellogg, Gad
" Daniel
" John, Capt.
" Joseph
" Samuel
King, Aaron
" Bohan
" David
" Joseph
" Silas
Kitts, Peter
(Pitts)
Lee, Simeon
Lewis, Isaac
Linsee, David
" John
" Seth
Linus, Asa
" Ignatius
Lockes, Asaph
Loomis, Asabel
" Israel
" Jared
Lyon, Jonathan
Martin, Edward
Martindale, Edward
" Samuel
" Zadoe
Mather Samuel, Surg.
McDonald, James
McNeill, George
Meecham, Elijah
Mein, Armour
Mills, Joshua
Mosley, Azariah
" David, Col.
" John, Col.
" Israel
" Jere
Newton, James
Nimocks, James
" Richard
Noble, Asa
" Asabel
" Bartholemew
" Bildad
" Eager
" Elihu
" Gad, Sergt.
" Jacob
" James
" Jared
" Ashbel
" John
" Matthew, Lieut.
" Paul
" Roger
" Samuel
" Shadrach
" Stephen, Lieut.
" Timothy
Nobles, Elihu
" Silas
Owen, Asabel
Palmer, Zadoe
" William
Parks, Nathan
" Reuben
" Wareham
Peters, Thomas
Phelps, Aran
" Anson, Jr.
Philon, Norman
Piercy, David
Pitts, Gideon
Plumb, Jared
Pomeroy, Justin
" Justus
Provence, David

Ray, Daniel
Ricard, Joseph
Robinson, William
Rogers, Jonathan
" Isaiah
Root, Aaron
" David
" Daniel
" Eldad
" Jonathan
" Joseph, Capt.
" Joseph, Jr.
" Martin
" Martin, Jr.
" Samuel
" Silas
" Solomon
" Stephen
Ross, David
Sacket, Abner
" Asher
" Daniel, Capt.
" David
" Gad
" Israel
" Ozem
" William
" Zavan
Saulsbury, Jonathan
Saxton, Stephen
Senn, Joshua
Sexton, Abner
" Phineas
Shepard, Daniel, Surg.
" Enoch
" Ezekiel
" Ezra
" Gideon
" John
" John, 2nd.
" John, Jr.
" Jonathan
" Silas
" William, Gen.
" William, Ensign
Shools, Richard
Sibley, Jonathan
Smith, Martin
Smith, John
" Robert
" Samuel
Snell, Asa
" Jonathan
Southworth, Phineas
Sparks, Jared
" Thomas
Stebbins, Timothy
Stiles, John
" Benjamin
" Simeon
" Martin
Stevenson, Abner
Streetor, Nathan
Taylor, David
" Eldad
" Jedidiah
" Samuel
Tremaine, Justus
Thomas, a negro boy
Toogood, William, Capt.
Tremaine, Nathaniel
" Shem
Templeton, John
Vansley, Justus
Wakefield, Reuben
Waldron, Nathan
Walton, Andrew
Watkins, Eliab
" Elijah
Ward, Abner
Way, Martin, Serg.
Welch, William
Wharfield, Reuben
Weller, Abner
" Martin
" Justus
Wetherbee, Simeon
White, Luther
Wiggins, Josiah
Williams, Elijah
" Ephraim
" Israel
" Philip
" Roswell
" Solomon
Wilson, John

Winchell, Benjamin, Sergt.
" Justus
" Ruggles
Woodbury, James
Wright, Rhoderick

GRAVES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS IN THE OLD CEMETERY,

As Recorded by Louis M. Dewey, Geneologist.

Atkins, Luther (from Connecticut)
Ashley, Eli
Atwater, John
Bagg, Daniel
Ballantine, John
Bush, Aaron
" Amos
" Silas
Clapp, Ezra
Dewey, Eliab
" John
" Russell
Eager, Ashbel
Falley, Richard
Farnam, Jem
Fowler, Ashbel
" Bildad
" Blackleach
" Daniel
" Linus
" Medad
" Samuel
" Stephen
Holcomb, Enoch
King, Aaron
" Bohan
Mather, Samuel
Morse, Jacob
Moseley, Azariah
" David
Moseley, Israel
" Jere
" John
Nimocks, Richard
Noble, Jacob
" Matthew
" Stephen
Parks, Elisha
" Warham
Phelps, Ebenezer
" Moses
Root, Gad
" Joseph
" Silas
Sacket, Adnah
" Stephen
" William
Shepard, Gideon
" John
" William
Stebbins, Timothy
Stiles, Martin
Taylor, Eldad
" James
" Jedediah
Weller, Isaac
Whitney, Abel
Williams, Ephraim
Wright, Rhoderick

A CATALOGUE OF THE BOOKS OF THE REVRD MR TAYLOR

	£ s d
An old Latin Commentary on the bible fol. 3. Foxes Martyrology Vol 3 fol: 2.10.0	
Sir Walter Rawleighs History fol: 30s. Bp:	2:13: 0
Jewels Apology fol: 12	2: 2: 0
Austin Torrens Nonus Operum fol: 18: Calvin in Danielem fol: 2	1: 0: 0
D Swifte's Vindiciae graciae 20s D Hylers Cosmography fol 30s	2:10: 0
Josephus's Antiquities & Wars fol 10s Mr Woodal on Chirurgery vol 10s	1: 0: 0
Magdeburgh Asst Vol 6 fol: 2£:5s:0 Origens homilies Vol 2: fol 4	2: 9: 0
D Swiss's de Scientia Media fol 12s Calvin upon the Epistles of Paul fol 8s	1: 0: 0
Theophilact upon the Evangelists fol 7s Zanchy upon Several Epistles fol 6s	0:13: 0
Hophman de Medicinis officinalibus 4s:2d Hereboli Malelemati 4s:8d	0:10: 0
Launcelot 4to :1s:6d Brightman in Apolcalypem 4to :5s Durham upon Canticles 4to :4s:0d	0:10: 5
Weems Christian Sinague 4s:4d Cartwright Evans 4s:2d	0: 6: 0
Schooderi Tharmac 4s:4d Cotton upon the Vials 4s:2d	0: 6: 0
Perens's Commentary upon Matt 4s:4d Chaunceys Neonomanissm 4s:8d	1:12: 0
Goldman Dictionary 4s:15d: Perens upon Hosea 4to 1s:6d	0:16: 6
Harman: Conf: 4to :1s:6d Tenet Washl 4s:4d Sohibls Metaphisicks 4to :2d	0: 7: 6
Dr. Owens Enquiry into Churches 4s:8d Dr. Owens Sure Nature of a Gospell Church 4s:6d	0:14: 0
Spauheims Disputationes Theologica 4s:8d Wendilini Physica Naturalis 4s:5d	0:13: 0
Maccovins Loci Communis 4s:6d: Baxter Key for Catholicks 4s:6d	0:12: 0
an Answer to the Treatises of the Cross 4to :1s: Ainsworth upon the Pentateuch 8s	0: 9: 0
Goodwins Roman Antiquity &c 4to :9s Babel no Bethel &c 4to :6s	0:15: 0
Prius Apology &c 4to :8s: Edwards Gangreene 4to :2s:6d:	0:10: 6
Dr Owen De Theologia 4to :5s Greenpile upon Ezekl: 4: Vol 3: 20s	1: 5: 0
Burroughs upon Hosea 4to Vol. 3:1:6 Stephens's Calculation &c. 4to :2:	1: 8: 0
Jeans's Scholastical Divinity 4to :8 Mystical Babilon Unveiled &c. 4to :5:	0:13: 0
Prius Antiarminianisus 4to :3: Metallogia 4to 2s: A Number of Election Sermons 4to 9s:	
The Preservative of Youth with other Sermons 4s:2d	0:14: 0
Isoenatis Scripta 4to :1s	0: 4: 0
Polhil against Sherlock 4to 8s Mella Pateum 4to 2s: Culpeppes London Dispensatn 4to 4s:0	0:14: 0
Maginus Quarto 1s: Dr Owen of Evangelical Love &c 4to :3s	0: 4: 0
Antisozzo 4to :8s: Gladvil of Witchcraft 1s:6d:	0: 9: 6
The fulfilment of the Scriptures 7s: A Sermon before King James the 2d &c. 2s:6	0: 9: 6
Mr Willards Truly blessed Man 4s Bucan Loci Communes 3:6	0: 7: 6

Fullers word to a young man 1s:6d: Casarlon of Enthusiasm 1s:6d:	0: 3: 0
Roman Forgeries 2s Owen of the Glory of Christ 3s:6d:	0: 5: 6
Rekermans Logic 1s:6d: Downams Logic 3s:6d:	0: 3: 0
Polhil of the Decrees 6s: Eshinis & Demosthenis orationis 1s:	0: 7: 0
Zanchy de Scripta sac: 1s: D Cot Math Eluthinia 2s	0: 3: 0
Mr Willards Fearing an Oath &c. 2s Postoe Minones 1s	0: 3: 0
Massachusetts 2s:6d: Vincents Explanation 2s:6d:	0: 5: 0
Cadmus Gnoceo Phenise 1s Abra: Intercession for Sodom	0: 2: 0
Baxters True Way of Concord 2s: Token for Children &c 2s:	0: 4: 0
Val Max Exemp 6d: Amesii de Easibus Conscientiae 5s:	0: 5: 6
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Just Commemorations &c: 1s:6d: Synlarma Geographica 6d:	0: 2: 0
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A Call to the Rising Generation 1s:8d: Fuller of Faith & Repentance 1s:	0: 2: 8
3 Dialogues 2s:6d: Secret Prayer Inculcated &c. 2s:	0: 4: 6
2 Journeys to Jerusalem 1s:6d: Expectanda 1s:	0: 2: 6
Strongs Spelling Book 1s: Corderius 1s:8d: Catoes Dislichs 1	0: 3: 8
Houghton upon the Rise of Antichrist 1s: The Triumph of Mercy 2s:6d:	0: 3: 6
A Mariners Cordial 1s:6d: Yates Model of Divinity 1s:6d:	0: 3: 0
A Call to Delaying Sinners by Doolittle 1s:4d:	0: 1: 4
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Sacramental Meditations 2s:6d: Meditations upon the Glory of the &c. 1s:8d:	0: 4: 2
New England Platform 1s:6d: The fountain Opened 1s:4d:	0: 2:10
The Self Justitiary 1s: Index biblicus 1s: About 28 Pamphlets 27s:	1: 9: 0
The Synopsis Christicorum Vol 4: 10£:	
Wilsons Christian Dictionary 30s:	11:10: 0
Mr Arthur Jacksons Annotations Vol 3 25s	1: 5: 0
Clarks Notes upon the New Testamt 10s:	0:10: 0
Dr Goodwin upon the Object & Acts &c: 30s	1:10: 0
Mr Joseph Medes Works 45s:	2: 5: 0

The total valuation of his Library as thus inventoried amounted to £54. 4s. 7d.

To John Stoddard Esqr Judge of the Probate of Wills we who are chosen to Prize the Estate of the Revrd Mr Taylor Deceas'd do signifie to your Honr that the Instrument which the Prizal of the Books was done by the Revrd Mr Brewer & Mr Williams assisting of us

David Ashley Nehemiah Loomis

	£ s d
Due from the Estate to Major Pynchon	1:14:10

	£ s d		£ s d	
To Ezekiel Lewes	10: 5:11	To William Allen	6: 0: 0	16: 5:11
To Deacon Ashley	1:14: 7	To Jonathan Fowler	7: 0: 0	8:14: 7
To Matthew Noble	4: 5: 2	To Widdow Kellogg	0:13: 8	4:18:10
To Abraham Fowler	12:11	To Nehimiah Loomis	8: 0	1: 0:11
To James Dewey	8: 0	To Mehitable Taylor	0:17: 0	1: 5: 0
To My own Accot	4: 2: 0			4: 2: 0

(Mr. Eldad Taylor administrator of the estate presented it for probate before Judge John Stoddard at Northampton, January 13th 1729–30.)

WESTFIELD BANKS

Hampden National Bank

Organized as a State Bank, 1825, with a capital of $100,000. Incorporated as a National Bank, 1865.

Officers, 1869—Hon. Edward B. Gillett, president; Royal Weller, cashier; James Noble, Jr., and Alfred D. Lamberton, clerks. Directors: Edward B. Gillett, Edwin Smith, Alvin Fowler, Samuel Fowler, Reuben Noble, James P. Cooley of Granville, W. O. Fletcher, Royal Weller.

Officers, 1919—Charles J. Little, president; James Noble, Jr., vice-president; Louis C. Parker, cashier; Charles E. Avery, assistant cashier. Directors: Gamaliel E. Austin, William K. Buschmann, John P. Fogarty, Edward T. Fowler, Edgar L. Gillett, Charles J. Little, James Noble, Jr., Orville R. Noble, Frederick L. Parker, Louis C. Parker, Oren B. Parks, William T. Smith.

First National Bank of Westfield

Organized, February 25, 1863.

This is the oldest National bank in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It had at the date of its organization a capital of $75,000.

Officers, 1863—Charles A. Jessup, president; George L. Laflin, cashier, who was shortly succeeded by Henry Hooker, who filled the office until 1895. Directors: Charles A. Jessup, George L. Laflin, Cutler Laflin, Herman Laflin, Henry Hooker.

In 1865 it merged with the Westfield Bank, a State institution incorporated in 1851 with a capital of $160,000. The capital of the merged banks was increased to $250,000 and has so remained until the present time. The bank also has a surplus fund and undivided profits to a considerable amount.

Officers, 1919—S. A. Allen, president; Joseph A. Kenyon, vice-president; Loring P. Lane, cashier. Directors: S. A. Allen, Joseph A. Kenyon, Loring P. Lane, H. M. Van Deusen, D. F. Doherty, F. R. Parks, Robert Gowdy, Harry C. Lane, Charles B. Warren.

Woronoco Savings Bank

Incorporated, 1871.

Officers, 1871—Samuel Horton, president; Royal Weller, treasurer; Lewis R. Norton, Edwin Smith, Reuben Noble, William O. Fletcher, vice-presidents; Edward B. Gillett, clerk. Trustees: George R. Whitman, Henry Fuller, James H. Morse, Darwin L. Gillett, Thomas Kneil, Alexander McKenzie, Joseph S. Clark, David Lamberton, Lemuel B. Blood, Merritt Van Deusen, Edson O. Gibbs, John R. Reed, Leroy C. Gillett, John Fowler, Phineas Solomon.

Officers, 1919—Oren B. Parks, president; Harris B. Moulton, treasurer; Chester H. Abbe, Thomas J. Cooley, vice-presidents; Frederick A. Ballou, clerk. Trustees: S. Augustus Allen, Chester H. Abbe, John H. Ashley, Gamaliel E. Austin, William Seth Bush, Sumner B. Campbell, Charles H. Cooley, Thomas J. Cooley, Frank S. Dewey, William B. Mahoney, Oren B. Parks, Oren E. Parks, Edwin J. Smith, Louis C. Parker, Harris B. Moulton.

Westfield Savings Bank

Incorporated April 10, 1853.

On December 31, 1860, the bank's deposits equaled $100,174.37, with no

surplus; on April 15, 1919, its deposits equaled $4,176,021.67, with a surplus of $425,661.87.

Officers, 1919—Lucius Thayer, president; Charles F. Austin, Daniel F. Doherty, Joseph A. Kenyon, Harry C. Lane, vice-presidents; George A. Upson, treasurer; Harry B. Putnam, clerk. Trustees: Lucius F. Thayer, Loring P. Lane, Charles F. Austin, Daniel F. Doherty, Joseph A. Kenyon, Frank E. Cowles, Charles H. Cooley, Jr., Harry B. Putnam, Louis M. Fuller, Harry C. Lane, Thomas J. Dewey, Morrell H. Moore, Harry W. Gladwin, Edgar W. Reed, George A. Upson.

Board of Investment—Lucius F. Thayer, Loring P. Lane, Charles F. Austin, Thomas J. Dewey.

Auditing Committee—Loring P. Lane, Charles H. Cooley, Jr., Louis M. Fuller.

Westfield Co-operative Bank

Incorporated December 13, 1881.

Officers, 1881—Moses P. Breckenridge, president; J. S. Clark, vice-president; O. C. Towle, secretary; David M. Chase, treasurer; F. W. Fisk, attorney. Directors: I. N. Weston, George L. Danks, E. L. Goodnow, John G. Schmidt, Henry Mullen, H. A. Parsons, A. W. Fairchild, H. Westcott, J. A. Lakin, W. C. Clark, Edwin Hedges, Charles Hedges, F. W. Fisk, W. H. Whitney, C. J. Bradley.

Two hundred and fifty shares were sold at the first meeting. It was largely through the efforts of Mr. Breckenridge, who at the time was superintendent of the H. B. Smith Company, that this bank was organized.

Mr. O. C. Towle, who was elected secretary of the organization and afterwards secretary and treasurer, served until December, 1900, when J. H. Clark, the present treasurer, was elected secretary and treasurer.

The following persons have served as officers of the bank since its organization:

Presidents: M. P. Breckenridge, 1881-1896; S. B. Campbell, 1896-1898; A. W. Holton, 1898—Febrauary, 1911; S. B. Campbell, 1911-1919.

Secretaries and treasurers: O. C. Towle, 1881-1900; J. H. Clark, 1900-1919.

Attorneys: F. W. Fisk, 1881-1883; J. R. Dunbar, 1883-1888; W. S. Kellogg, 1888-1906; Harold P. Moseley, 1906—September, 1916; F. A. Ballou, 1916-1919.

Officers, 1919—S. B. Campbell, president; G. E. Shepard, vice-president; J. H. Clark, treasurer and clerk; R. J. Tubbs, assistant treasurer and clerk; F. A. Ballou, attorney. Directors: N. S. Barnes, S. B. Campbell, R. T. Carrier, J. H. Clark, C. H. Cooley, Jr., T. J. Cooley, H. S. Eaton, F. N. Gibbons, H. W. Kittredge, Thomas Little, H. S. Miller, A. G. Norton, O. E. Parks, G. E. Shepard, Jr., F. E. Tibbals.

The first annual statement of the bank showed assets of $4,792.14; 112 members. May, 1919, showed assets, $851,113.25; surplus, $20,779.43; members, 1,342; shares in force, 13,052.

Dividends have been paid to shareholders at the rate of $5\frac{1}{4}\%$ for the past fifteen years.

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